Moving Archives

Agency, emotions and visual memories of industrialization in Greenland

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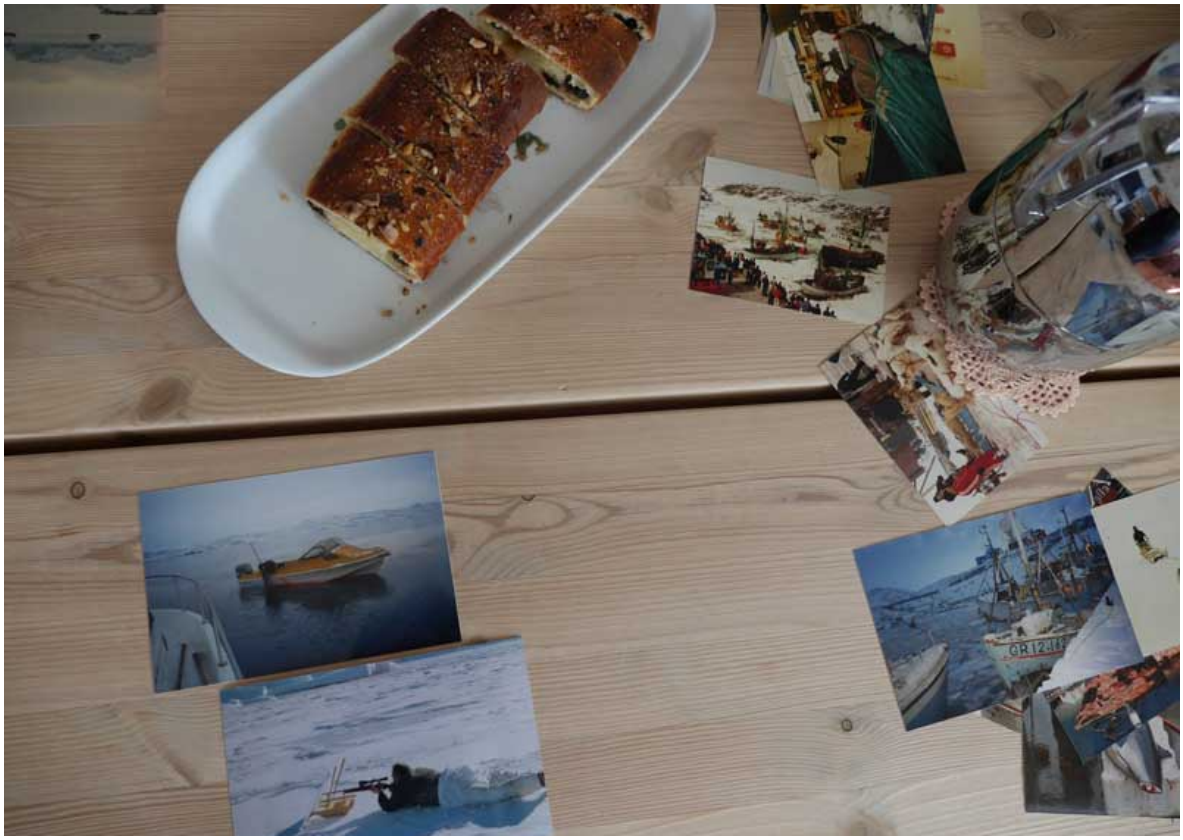

PhD Thesis

Anne Mette Jørgensen

Moving Archives.

Agency, emotions and visual memories of industrialization in Greenland

Supervisor: Associate Professor Ph.D. Kirsten Thisted

Submitted on: 15 February 2017

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Preface

It is always difficult to pinpoint exactly when a project began. Perhaps this project began while I was a student in Aarhus and was encouraged by Professor Ton Otto to pursue my profound interest in visual anthropology methodologies. Or perhaps it began when, together with Greenlandic and Danish colleagues at SILA – the Arctic Research Centre at the National Museum of Denmark – I discovered a dusty pile of metal cans containing celluloid films by the young Danish photographer and film maker Jette Bang and realized that these recordings – with outstanding documentation of early industrial developments in Greenland – had never been screened to a Greenlandic audience. I am indebted to everybody who inspired me during these initial stages. Also, I want to thank the Greenlandic Research Council and the Danish Research Council, which granted the scholarship that made this research possible and 'Fonden til forskningsfremme' for sponsoring the common fieldwork of BA student Niviaq Samuelsen and myself, in which she also served as an interpreter and translator in the Greenlandic-language interviews.

The museum staff in both Qasigiannguit and Sisimiut participated enthusiastically during the initial stages of this project, thus confirming the relevance of returning Jette Bang's films and conducting this research project. I am indebted to them and to colleagues at the museums in Ilulissat and Qeqertarsuaq and at the National Museum in Nuuk, as I am to all my other informants, including my three interpreters, who also include Jakob Fly and Sophie Andersen, and who gave me and my project so much attention, care, time, coffee and good company.

I extend my gratitude to my supervisors, Birgit Kleist Pedersen at Ilisimatuarfik and Kirsten Thisted at the University of Copenhagen, for not only acting in a professional capacity but also generously sharing both friendships and professional networks. My colleagues at the Department of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies have provided a supportive and inspiring base, and the process would not have been the same without the always lovely company of Christine Aster Crone and my productive collaboration with Ann-Sofie Nielsen Gremaud. She, Kirsten and other colleagues in the research network 'Denmark and the New North Atlantic' widened my Northern and Arctic horizons from the earliest stages of this project.

My colleagues at the National Museum of Denmark, Modern History and World Cultures, not least Christian Sune Pedersen and all the Arctic researchers on the second floor, deserve special thanks for always being helpful, inspiring, thought-provoking – and truly outstanding company.

I also want to thank the research network at KTH Royal Institute of Technology, in particular Sverker Sörlin, Dag Avango and Peder Roberts, for including me in the Centre of Excellence for Resources, Extractive Industries and Sustainable Arctic Communities (REXSAC) and funding a post-doc position that I very much look forward to.

I am deeply indebted to Ton Otto who provided dedicated supervision out of sheer veneration and to Christine Aster Crone and Martin Appelt for valuable readings and comments on my writing, to Bjarne Grønnow for the fine maps, to Einar Lund Jensen for Greenlandic transcriptions and to Dorte H. Silver and Brynhildur Boyce for English proofreading.

I want to acknowledge that the encouragement of three men has meant a great deal for my belief in the rather uneven roads that my career has taken: Ton Otto, Martin Appelt and my husband, Peter Randrup. Without your enthusiasm and support - in different ways and at different points in time - I had never embarked on this PhD project.

Finally, I want to thank my family, not least my mother Kirsten and my mother-in-law Birthe, for always being there, and Halfdan, Frida and Peter for all your patience and love.

Anonymization of informants

The names of all informants have been changed in the writing and I have named some by their profession in order to anonymize people's identities, albeit this is only possible at a certain level (cf. Chapter 4). I have not substituted names of politicians and other public figures.

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Abstract

This thesis deals with personal and collective memories of industrialization in the Disko Bay area in Greenland, focusing on how people remember their local agency during these seminal transitional years. After the introduction of Self-Government in 2009, the young, postcolonial nation is currently revisiting its written history, reorienting its collective memories and reinterpreting its cultural heritage. Managing the role of the past in the present is central to cultural identifications in the current and continual debates about a future characterized by cultural autonomy and, ultimately, independence.

The main argument in this dissertation is that whereas the theme of industrialization is often associated with a discourse of Greenlanders as victims of development, the memories of people who worked with the natural resources in the mining and the fishing industries offer alternative and pivotal narratives that often contain the emotion of pride and a sense of strong personal agency. These personal memories have not been inscribed in history books or museum exhibitions, they have not entered the archives, and their absence remains a problem for historical self-knowledge.

Further, the dissertation argues that personal and collective memory practices enter dynamic and complex relations, and that emotions are crucial in these processes. Over time, emotional memory practices may have the capacity to transform even 'soft' agency in personal memories into strong, potentially political agency for change.

Drawing on multi-sited anthropological methodologies, the empirical material was collected in multiple sites that all relate to the question of how people remember industrialization. The point of departure for the PhD project was a digital return of film material by the prominent Danish photographer and filmmaker Jette Bang, in other words moving an archive from the National Museum of Denmark to all local museums and the National Museum of Greenland in a continual museum contact zone. The bulk of the data relates to this process and is a result of participant observations and visual elicitations of memories here, in museums and among former and present workers in the mining and fishing industries. The archival materials – the documents, photographs and other objects that we associate with memories – may be said to move us as they motivate us to act in certain ways, feel attracted to some and repelled by other people, places, positions or utterances. The dissertation contributes to the continual development of anthropological methodologies by demonstrating how visual elicitation may be productively integrated in anthropological fieldworks.

Anthropology of memory practices is still in its formative stage today, at a time when the role of the past in the present, potently defining future visions, is gaining increasing global attention and is often exploited to serve ideological and political purposes. The dissertation demonstrates how memory practices powerfully produce and transform agencies in this field and how, at local levels, personal and collective memory practices mutually interact and function to comfort, guide or even relieve the individual, legitimize some group solidarities and delegitimize others, and sometimes to produce agentive collective memory practices that lead to political action.

Resumé in Danish

Denne afhandling omhandler personlige og kollektive erindringer om industrialiseringen i Disko bugt området i det nordvestlige Grønland. Den fokuserer på hvorvidt og hvordan folk i de årtier, hvor 'moderniseringen af Grønland' tog fart, lokalt erindrer at have haft muligheder for at agere og tage væsentlige beslutninger omkring deres egne liv. Grønland er stadig, efter indførelsen af Selvstyret i 2009, en ung nation, og man er i en de-koloniserende proces, hvor man genskriver sin historie, re-orienterer sine kollektive erindringer og genfortolker sin kulturarv. Varetagelsen af fortiden i fremtiden er helt central for nutidens kulturelle identifikationer og for den kontinuerlige debat om en fremtid kendetegnet ved kulturel autonomi og, ultimativt, selvstændighed.

Afhandlingens hovedargument er, at Grønlands industrialisering ofte forbindes med en diskurs, hvor grønlændere fremstilles som ofre for moderniseringen, samtidig med at man undertrykker væsentlige og stolte fortællinger fra mere aktive grønlandske aktører. Ikke mindst de, der har arbejdet med industriel udnyttelse af Grønlands naturressourcer, i mine- og fiskeindustrierne, har sådanne personlige erindringer. De er ikke blevet skrevet ind i historiebøgerne eller museernes udstillinger, og ej heller indsamlet og bevaret i arkiver, og deres fravær er problematisk for den historiske selvforståelse.

Afhandlingen argumenterer desuden for, at forholdet mellem personlige og kollektive erindringer er komplekst og dynamisk, og at følelser spiller en afgørende rolle for deres gensidige påvirkning af hinanden. Emotionelle erindringspraksisser har potentialer til at skabe væsentlige samfundsmæssige og kulturelle forandringer, idet de, over tid, kan transformere selv 'bløde former' for agens i personlige erindringer til mere 'hårde former', herunder politiske.

Det empiriske materiale i denne afhandling er indsamlet via en multi-situeret antropologisk tilgang, i en række forskellige former for data-indsamling og i forskellige rum, der har det til fælles, at de kan være med til at besvare, hvordan folk i Disko bugt området erindrer industrialiseringen. Udgangspunktet for PhD projektet var en digital tilbagelevering af et filmmateriale optaget af den anerkendte danske fotograf Jette Bang. Med andre ord blev et arkiv her returneret fra det danske til alle de grønlandske kulturhistoriske museer, i en allerede eksisterende kontaktzone. Hovedparten af afhandlingens data relaterer sig til denne proces, idet de er et produkt af deltagerobservation og visuelle elicitationer af erindringer foretaget i forbindelse hermed, på museer og blandt tidligere eller nuværende fiskere, fiskeri- eller minearbejdere. Vi kan sige, at arkiv materialer – de fotografier, dokumenter og andre objekter, som vi associerer med erindringer – bevæger os, fordi de får os til at føle os tiltrukket af nogle og frastødt af andre mennesker, steder, handlinger og ytringer. Afhandlingen bidrager til den kontinuerlige antropologiske metode udvikling idet den således demonstrerer, hvordan visuelle elicitationer produktivt kan integreres i antropologiske feltarbejder.

Antropologien om erindringspraksisser er et felt, der befinder sig i et formativt stadie, i en tid hvor fortidens rolle i nutiden - og som et potent grundlag for visioner for fremtiden – globalt set har stor opmærksomhed. Ikke sjældent udnyttes fortiden ligefrem til at tjene ideologiske og politiske formål. Afhandlingen viser, hvordan erindringspraksisser producerer og transformerer agens i dette felt, og hvordan det sker gennem gensidig påvirkning mellem personlige og kollektive erindringspraksisser. Erindringer bliver herved i stand til at støtte, guide og måske endda forløse individet, legitimere visse gruppe-solidariteter og de-legitimere andre, og sommetider til at producere kollektive erindringspraksisser med en agens, der fører til politisk handling.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.a. Aim and argument

Since the introduction of Self-Government in 2009, the young and postcolonial Greenlandic nation has been engaged in revisiting the nation's written history, reorienting its memory archives and reinterpreting its cultural heritage by the agency of a variety of institutions and individuals, including politicians, historians, educators, a reconciliation committee, and culture agents such as authors, curators, film-makers and artists. Greenland gained Home Rule in 1979 and Self Government in 2009[1], but it is still a partner in the Unity of the Realm, which also includes the Faroe Islands and Denmark, and total independence remains a highly pertinent issue.

The task of managing the role of the past in the present is a central aspect of these debates. Greenlandic perspectives on history are called for, and taking charge of the writing of history is perceived as a central part of the process of nation-building. Even though Greenlandic historians contribute to history writings – and increasingly so in recent years (e.g. Heinrich 2010; Petersen 1991; Petersen 1995; Rosing Olsen 2005; 2012; Rosing 2014; Seiding 2013) – there is room for a greater Greenlandic involvement. It is a methodological challenge that such works inevitably must build on the comprehensive archival sources generated by colonial administrators and other Danes. For Greenlandic perspectives to prosper, the new histories must, as is the case with historian Rosing Olsen's (2005; 2012) notable works, be based on a productive interference between memory narratives and historical sources. Here, as always, neither memories nor archives should be read as stable and nature-given testimonies from the past; rather, they should be analysed as narratives, discursively produced but also always authored by a human being (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002; Stoler 2002; 2009; Wertsch 2002).

Memories as oral traditions that were once sustained and conveyed from generation to generation (Connerton 1989:4) now compete with new media, and the latter largely prevail – in Greenland

[1] Greenland is gradually assuming responsibility for most political areas, whereas the Danish government retains control of foreign affairs, defence and monetary policy, providing an initial annual subsidy of DKK 3.4 billion, which is scheduled to diminish gradually over time if Greenland's economy grows, for instance as a result of increased earnings from the extraction of natural resources.

no less than elsewhere on the globe. As a result of this development, there is a continual weakening of oral traditions, and this has constituted an important continuous motivation for publishing collections of memories (e.g. Hansen 1977; Littauer and Thisted 2002). With few exceptions (e.g. Arke 2003) these publications have favoured the way of life related to hunting, reflecting the predominance of references to pre-modern phenomena in collective memory practices. Images of *kayaks*, *umiaqs*[2], *ulus*[3], marine mammals and Thule figures[4] are often featured in graphic logos, fashion and design, just as cultural history museums have a preference for prehistory as cultural heritage[5]. At the other end of the scale, the periods of intense industrialization and modernization in the 1950s and 60s have hitherto not attracted much attention, and when it occasionally has, it has mainly been described in negative terms, highlighting ruptures in lifestyle, victimization, 'loss of identity' and alienation in a new and globalized world[6].

And yet, what has produced the economic growth and the considerable improvements in wealth and health in general during the past more than fifty years is precisely industrial ways of working – especially in the fishing and mining industries – just as these sectors, in all probability, are going to continue to secure Greenland's economic future. I have therefore been intrigued by an absence: why is it that industrialization has been so fragmentarily described? And why are there so few narratives about Greenlandic agencies in the introductions of new industrial ways of working? There is agency in establishing or purchasing, managing and operating a mine or a fish factory, but also in working in the industries and sustaining a living, navigating in the changes and striving to improve life for oneself and one's family. Many people have experienced profound transformations in their everyday lives, with changes in both their working and private

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[2] Women's boats, which the Inuit brought to Greenland about 1000 years ago, but which gradually went of usage during the last century.
[3] Women's knives, which were used until about the mid 20th century.
[4] See for instance http://thulemanden.dk/thulemanden/
[5] 'Cultural heritage' has for the last three decades been a widely applied term, in particular in museums and museological fields (see e.g. Silverman 2011; Sørensen and Viejo Rose 2015). I wish to caution against the authoritative associations that the use of 'heritage' draws upon and I use it here only to denote what my informants and museum colleagues term 'cultural heritage'.
[6] On a global scale, there are plenty of narratives about indigenous people who are doomed – culturally – in the encounter with globalization (see e.g. Alfred 2006:325). Concerning Inuit in Greenland, these narratives include Larsen in Bang 1984; Rasmussen 1920:19; Bang 1940:8–9 . See also Fienup-Riordan (1995:5).

life conditions. To some, these changes came at a heavy cost, yet at the same time there were many who had long desired these changes, as they expected them to improve their living standards and offer more secure ways of life with a more stable source of income than the hunting practices offered.

The question of agency in the industrial developments is central to the interpretation of the chapters of modernization and industrialization in the history of Greenland, and it is closely linked to simultaneous decolonization processes at political as well as local and interpersonal levels. Since 1721, Denmark had colonized Greenland, but from 1953 the giant island was assigned the status of a county, entitling it as a valid and equal part of the Danish state – in formal terms, that is[7]. The years 1953, 1979 (Home Rule) and 2009 (Self-Government) mark constitutional amendments rather than absolute ruptures. The movement from colonial status towards independence may be perceived as a staged, progressive process that is continually challenged[8]. It was only after the introduction of Home Rule in 1979 that a government, Naalakkersuisut, was constituted, and sovereign decisions could be made in a gradually increasing number of areas[9]. Control over the natural resources was and is a critical issue for Greenland's relations to the rest of the world. Fishing continues to play the main role in the local economy and also generates by far the greatest share export income[10]. Revenues from mining have been discontinuous so far, but there are well-founded and high hopes for large-scale mining projects to materialize and supplement the economy significantly in the not too distant future. The organization and management of the two sectors, fisheries and mining, have been very different: the mines were owned by Danes or other foreign investors, whereas a number of Greenlanders made a good living – some a really good living – from it, thus gaining positive experiences of fighting for and achieving better working conditions. In the fishing industry, Greenlanders typically executed higher degrees of agency as they purchased and owned the

[7] Two Greenlandic representatives were now elected for the Danish parliament, and the Greenlandic Provincial Council gained more influence yet was still only to be consulted and could not make independent decisions.
[8] In the second half of the 20th century, these included, not least, politics of language and education, just as there were major conflicts over the apportionment of wages, which were regulated by a so-called 'birthplace criterion' and later a 'criterion of native country' that discriminated between local and foreign – mainly Danish – workers (Sørensen 2006; Rosing Olsen 2005).
[9] Cf. note 1.
[10] As much as 88% of Greenland's export income came from the trade in fish and shellfish in 2013 (Naalakkersuisut 2016).

trawlers and were often able to set agendas for change, yet these always had to conform with the regulations imposed by the authorities, and the trading conditions determined by the fish factories.

My project does not aim to examine industrialization as such but rather to analyse the social and cultural effects of it as remembered by my informants and in collective memories in Greenland. I focus on local memories of the social transformations that resulted from the new industrial ways of working, how these changes are reflected in collective memories, and, finally, how people experienced their own possibilities for action during the early decades of industrialization in Greenland. Such memories are crucial because they have a profound impact on people's self-perceptions and their discourses about possible futures. This dissertation is a product of my puzzlement about where – and to what extent – those memories are narrated. Are they related in museums, schools or educational institutions? In literature, music, the arts? On television? Or do they rest within the walls of private homes? Do people talk about them when they look through photo albums, passed on from parents and grandparents to children and grandchildren? Or are they – more or less consciously – being forgotten?

The central argument of this dissertation will be that, although a narrative of Greenlanders as victims of progress and development has often been associated with industrialization, the memories of people who worked in the mining and the fishing industries offer alternative narratives that often include a sense of pride and a strong sense of personal agency. Many of these local agentive stories have not been included in history books, school textbooks, documentaries or official archives, and hence, current efforts to revisit and renegotiate the history of Greenland's modernization and industrialization should put a high priority on including peoples' memories.

Since conceiving the idea for this PhD project, I have had as my goal to conduct research that would be for the benefit of Greenland, in one sense or another. Maybe with a less direct impact than, for instance, economy or healthcare research or the agenda-setting report about Greenland's current economic challenges and scenarios for overcoming them that was presented and published in the same name, 'To the benefit of Greenland' (Rosing 2014) a few months after I embarked on this project. I consider the management of history and memory to be a most powerful field in any nation, and I intend to draw conclusions that will enable me to point at aspects in current memory practices that will serve as potentially useful knowledge in Greenland.

1.b. Research questions

Combining anthropological fieldworks, media, memory and cultural studies, my project revisits the individual and collective memories of the decisive decades of intense industrialization. My core question will be:

How do people in Greenland, specifically in the Disko Bay area, currently remember industrialization?

This 'how' has a dual reference: 1) an analytical question concerning *in what ways* people remember, and 2) an empirical question concerning *what is the content* of their remembering. In other words, what is the content of the memory narratives and visuals of this period in time? Of the personal, collective, public and mediated memory practices? And on the analytical level, what is the relationship between these various forms of memory practices (Connerton 1989; 2009; Dijck 2007)? Do personal and collective memory practices differ, and how are they related? What can we say about the relationship between memory practices and emotional practices (Scheer 2012)? And is it possible to perceive memory practices as a form of agency?

1.c. Analytical framework

My study of personal and collective, narrative and visual memories of industrialization in Greenland takes shape at the intersection of social and visual anthropology, memory and media studies, history and studies of narratives and emotions.

Social memory practices

More than 90 years ago, philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwach claimed that memory is an inevitably social phenomenon that develops through human interaction (Halbwachs 1992[1925]). Remembering takes place in the individual's mind, but our thinking is framed by socially learned categories. Since Halbwachs, and escalating over the past few decades, the relationship between individual[11] and collective memory has been the object of a large body of

[11] The broad field of memory studies also include psychology and studies of the physiological, cognitive and neuropsychological functioning of the brain, all of which are occupied with individual remembering.

literature (e.g. J.Assmann 1995; J.Assmann 2006 [2000]; A.Assmann 2011; Bartlett 1995[1932]; Berntsen and Bohn 2009; Connerton 1989; Hirsch 2008), the bulk of which has served more to extend the field than to produce any unequivocal definition of collective remembering. A variety of disciplines have attempted to conceptualize collective memory, but this effort has resulted in a rather non-homogenous theory formation and sometimes even conflicting definitions of 'collective', 'cultural' or 'social' memory. Within anthropology, memory has only been established as a subfield since the 1980s (Connerton 1989; Connerton 2009; Wertsch 2002; Wertsch 2009), and even here, the field has widened to an extent that some, with a degree of scepticism, refer to as a veritable memory boom within anthropology, and today these terms are still in search of coherent interpretation and theoretical clarity (Gable and Handler 2011; Rubin 2013; Wertsch 2002:171; Wertsch 2009:117).

My conceptualization of social memory practices rests on Paul Connerton's application of Halbwachs's collective memory in his seminal 'How Societies Remember' (Connerton 1989). Connerton investigates how we convey and sustain memory across generations through commemorative and bodily practices. There is no such thing as an 'organic' memory or a 'soul of the people' with its own will. We speak of 'collective' or 'cultural' memory, but analytically, these only make sense as constructions.

Mediated memories

The Dutch media scholar José van Dijck has criticized Halbwachs for ignoring the cultural dimension of remembering, and with my practice-based and social-constructivist approach to the study of memory, and of culture, I agree fully with her poignant statement that 'Culture, like memory, is less interesting as something we have – hold or discount – than as something we create and through which we shape our personal and collective selves' (Dijck 2007:12). It is not least in collective mediated memories that we may observe this cultural production of memory practices, and as mentioned before, most Greenlanders are keen media consumers. They are almost all media producers as well, if we, as anthropologist James Wertsch does, perceive media in the broad sense of the 'mediational means' one may dispose of in a given sociocultural setting (Wertsch 2002:11). Wertsch perceive narratives to be the most prominent among these, and he demonstrates how narratives are written into discourses that may work at collective levels, including as ideological and political articulations. His reading of narratives as 'cultural tools for remembering' (ibid.: 57) has inspired me to focus in particular on narratives in my analysis, albeit with an added focus on visual memory practices.

When we remember, we relate events to emotions and hereby provide them with a horizon. No human mind operates with total photographic memory, and forgetting is therefore just as important as remembering in order that we retain the most relevant aspects. Relevance is defined in an interplay of rational and irrational factors, and memories are to a high degree shaped by emotional practices. The German memory scholar Jan Assmann has argued that visual impressions manifest particularly strongly in our memories due to their strong emotional appeal.

> Only emotionally cathected forms of communication bring structure, perspective, relevance, definition and horizon into memory. This holds good for narrative memory, but applies to scenic memory even more strongly. Images and scenes imprint themselves on the mind exclusively through their emotional force, whereas in the case of narrative memory interpretative factors are added to the emotional ones (J.Assmann 2006 [2000]:3).

Like J. Assmann, I recommend that we analytically distinguish between a scenic – or visual – memory practice, defined by immediacy, which 'penetrates to layers of personality that are deeper and further removed from consciousness than is the case with narrative memory' (J.Assmann 2006:2), which often involve a degree of reflection. In the same vein I maintain, with Assmann, that narrative and scenic memories take shape in complementary processes. Images may be central elements in the narration of personal memory practice and in their representations, just as, on the other hand, images may be read as narratives.

Emotional memory practices

Combining theories of memory (Connerton 1989; Dijck 2007; Wertsch 2002; 2009) and emotion (Scheer 2012; Ahmed 2004a; 2004b; 2010; Wetherell 2012), I perceive memory and emotion as mutually entangled practices that enforce, support and produce each other. Until recently, studies of emotion were the domain of psychologists, but in recent years, anthropologists and historians have turned their attention to emotions as socially and culturally produced phenomena – and as something that, in turn, produce social and cultural contexts (Hirsch 2008; Scheer 2012; Vallgårda 2015; 2017). For instance, at the time when I conceived the idea to this project, collective memories about the closed mining city of Qullissat, suddenly blossomed – after decades – and strong emotions were expressed in these collective memories. Often, the reception of these memories was similarly emotional. I experienced very diverse approaches to the

memory of the city, and this complexity called for analysis. Changing discourses are here tightly connected to changing emotional practices that guides the selection of what to forget and what to remember and thus bring out certain functional memories from a much larger store of only potentially activated memories (A.Assmann 2011:119 ff). In the analytical chapters 5-8, I am going to analyse how such selections are carried out in complex interplays of personal and collective memories, many of which are mediated in news media, books, film, music or theatre.

Agency

I have been puzzled by an absence of Greenlandic agency in the discourses of modernization, and in my analytical questioning of this absence I attempt to escape the pitfall of confusing agency with 'the autonomous, individualistic, Western actor'(Ortner 2006:130). Agency may also be iterative or 'soft', as Ortner specifies, and I will attempt to understand whether we may observe relations between emotional intensities vis-à-vis different kinds of agencies. Will 'hard agencies' always be supported by strong emotions, or is the issue more complex? Do personal memories always correspond with 'soft agencies', and are they restricted to the private sphere? And will there be links between strong memory practices, strong intentionalities and political agency? In other words, I am going to analyse how different forms of agency is entangled with emotional memory practices – at individual and collective levels (Connerton 1989; Scheer 2012).

1.d. Moving archives – methodological engagements

The title of this thesis refers to a duality, with regard to both 'movement' and 'archives'. Thus, we can read 'moving archives' either literally or as a metaphor (Derrida 1995:9ff). This duality inspired me to engage my methodologies along three different axes:

1) In a metaphorical sense, 'archive' may refer to any object to which memories are attached. The narratives and images that we associate with that object have an impact on us and may move us in powerful ways, in the sense that we feel attached to or repelled from it and move accordingly. In other words, ARCHIVES MOVE US emotionally and mentally and thereby influence our orientation in the world.

2) MOVIES IN ARCHIVES, or 'motion pictures', as they are also termed, may be instrumental in such memory practices. Films are but one medium that may transfer representations of the

past, but in their capacity to combine indexical imprints of past events with movement (Barthes 1990[1977]:44), they may have privileged potentials to move the spectator emotionally.

3) Scholarly interest in archives has been on the increase since the 1980s to an extent that has led some to term it an archival turn in the humanities (c.f. A.Assmann 2010; Derrida 1995; Stoler 2009) . Among institutions and persons in formerly colonized areas, there is a simultaneously growing interest in the objects and archival materials that agents of the colonial powers have collected in the colonies. Many European and North American museums have since the 1980s repatriated objects, photographs, films and archival materials from their ethnographic and archaeological collections to source communities that have claimed their ancestral regalia or to nation states claiming what they consider their national heritage. While some of these cases have led to conflicts, others have nourished and continue to nourish collaborations that lead to the generation of new knowledge. In such museum contexts WE MOVE THE ARCHIVES, because the world is moving, and in so doing we create new possible memory practices (e.g. Clifford 2013:7; Peers and Brown 2003; Peers and Brown 2009).

These three engagements with archives and movement are keys to my analysis of how people in Greenland remember industrialization. I address them through a range of methodological approaches, all encompassing a visual dimension and taking anthropological fieldwork as their point of departure. Collaborating with Greenlandic cultural history museums, I have engaged in museological contact zones, instituting a digital return (Clifford 1997) of prominent archival film footage to all Greenlandic cultural history museums, which gave me an opportunity for participant-observation of how such a return process may be carried out, as an example for practices that are increasingly becoming an aspect of everyday life in museums in former colonizing and colonized areas. In these return processes I took the opportunity to explore whether and how archival films, as moving images from the past, can play a role in memory practices. Further, I engaged in photo elicitations, inviting people to show me their private photo albums and photo frames in their homes and hereby evoking reflections and memories.

By applying these varied methodological approaches I have created an opportunity for myself for further exploration into a range of fields that I have already worked with, practically and academically, for the past twenty years. As a student of social anthropology in Aarhus in the 1990s I seized any opportunity I could to explore the field of visual anthropology, including supplementary training as a director of ethnographic films in Paris, co-production of three

ethnographic films and research on and distribution of ethnographic films. In my studies, I experienced over and over again how people immediately engage emotionally with film – a level of engagement that is much more rarely seen with text – and how such engagements may form powerful points of departure for cross-cultural understanding and communication. Implicitly, emotions played a role in people's engagements with the films, yet at the same time this fact was also the Achilles heel of visual anthropology: for many years it was conceived as being at the periphery of anthropological academia, recognized as a means for communication but only reluctantly accepted as a field of research in its own right. The recognition of emotions as a subject area within cultural studies parallels a widespread recognition of visual anthropology as an academic sub-discipline, and on a platform that combines the two, I now seek to stimulate memory studies by contributing to a nascent sub-field of visual anthropological memory studies.

1.e. The process

Before the project

The idea for the present project arose when I discovered a stack of 16-mm celluloid films by the famous Greenland photographer and filmmaker Jette Bang (1914–64) in the film archives of the Ethnographic Collections at the National Museum of Denmark. As part of my work as project manager on 'The digitization and digital dissemination of historical and ethnographic films at the National Museum and Moesgaard Museum' I was screening all of the 16-mm film material in the two museums when I came across these 12 metal cans with rolls of celluloid film[12] labelled as being the work of Jette Bang in 1938–9. I realized that the films, very atypically, contained footage of both industrial and modern phenomena and more traditional ways of life, constituting ethnographic representations of people on the West Coast of Greenland and valuable documentation of the Danish colonization of Greenland (Jørgensen 2014:235). Jette Bang has been praised as the most important photographer of Greenlandic images from1936 to her untimely death in 1964, taking pictures of a very high technical and artistic quality that reflect an unusual ability to relate at eye level with Greenlanders of all ages. Discovering the films therefore caused excitement and curiosity, and I began asking in our networks what people knew

[12] The duration of each film varies from 4:29 to 13:42 minutes. Their total running time is 110 minutes.

about the films. I found that, apparently, the films had simply sat on the shelves for a very long time and nobody could recall hearing about them being screened in neither Denmark nor Greenland. At the Arctic Institute I ploughed through the diaries of Jette Bang and a couple of albums with newspaper clippings, carefully collected and neatly organized by Jette Bang's mother while her daughter was travelling. In the press I spoke about my project of digitizing the ethnographic films (Krebs 2012; Wilken 2014), and after a visit to the Ethnographic Collections by representatives from Naalakkersuisut[13] and another visit by a freelance journalist and a technician from KNR,[14] I was convinced that the films would be highly valuable for an audience in Greenland. Together with colleagues at the National Museum[15] I conceived the idea that these films might be used in screenings in Greenland as basis for articulating memories about transitions from a subsistence economy based on hunting to a modernized lifestyle and thereby adding local memories to existing history writings. Returning the films to Greenlandic museums seemed a natural move in continuation of the comprehensive repatriation project, Utimut, that the National Museum had been engaged in from 1984 to 2001 (Gabriel and Dahl 2008).[16]

With a basic research question of how people in Greenland remember the transitional stages from hunting-based lifestyles to modernization, I applied for individual PhD funding while also taking part in formulating a collective research project application for a private Danish foundation. The application process for the collective project 'Denmark and the New North Atlantic – identity positions, cultural heritage and natural resources'[17] sharpened my focus, as we discussed the momentum that seemed to exist in Greenland during those months, alternating between utopic and dystopic visions for the future, as hopes were high for rapid financial growth based on extractive industries and, accordingly, complete independence from the Unity of the Realm. This led me to sharpen my research question in the sense of focusing more on how I could contribute to current history writings with a multi-perspectival and local approach. Perhaps it was because I now explicitly focused on memories of industrialization that the Danish Research Council now top-graded and the Greenlandic Research Council chose to fund my PhD project. In any case, I now see, in retrospect, that I have been one of a handful of front-runners in

[13] The Greenlandic government.
[14] Kalaallit Nunaata Radioa = Greenlandic Broadcasting Corporation.
[15] SILA –The Arctic Research Centre at the National Museum of Denmark.
[16] For further details about the Utimut process, see Chapter 2.
[17] http://tors.ku.dk/forskning/forskningpaafagene/minoritetsstudier/denmarkandthenewnorthatlantic/

a current wave seeking to highlight the industrialization processes in Greenland, which previously had received little attention (Cf. Chapter 4).

In this sense, my project has inscribed itself in a field of competing discourses (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002:31ff) from the very beginning. Three of the main defining factors of the present project were a) my point of departure in a national museum context, working in the aftermath of one of the most comprehensive and protracted repatriation processes the world has ever seen, b) my association with research networks at the Universities of Greenland, Copenhagen, Reykjavik and Thorshavn engaged in reflecting on and studying North Atlantic identity positions related to cultural heritage and natural resources and, c) my Danish origin and non-Greenlandic ethnicity. These factors were constitutive for my multi-sited fieldworks, the questions I asked, and the people I chose to engage with. In other words, they were three of the most important aspects of my complicity in the multi-sited fieldworks I conducted, my point of departure for 'being "complex or involved," primarily through the complex relationships to a third.' (Marcus 1998:122), as Marcus has put it, referring to the outside world that both anthropologist and informant are concerned with, as 'the third' (Cf. Chapter 4).

Pilot fieldworks

At a very early stage in my project period I had the opportunity to collaborate with the museum director of Qasigiannguit Museum on screening Jette Bang's films, and here I collected my first data on people's responses to the films. I decided to visit another museum as well in order to gain comparative insights and successfully made contact with the director of Sisimiut Museum. These early pilot fieldworks were highly rewarding, as they gave me an opportunity to experiment, provisionally, with introducing Jette Bang's films to various types of audiences and offered me more informed knowledge of local issues, which caused me to rethink my research design considerably. Although I had initially planned to visit far-flung locations on Greenland's west coast, I now decided to focus on the Disko Bay area, choosing Ilulissat as a core location, as I would be likely to find good numbers of informants here with memories from the fishing industries as well as from the two mines that now caught my interest, the Black Angel and Qullissat.

Rapidly changing contexts

I conducted these early fieldworks in March and April 2014, and in 2014, two important events came to change the political discourses dramatically. In 2014, a research-based government

report (Rosing 2014) was presented to the public at Ilisimatusarfik and the University of Copenhagen that made it clear that mining projects could not become the primary source for a balanced Greenlandic economy. Only if 12 large-scale projects materialize before 2040 could the gap be closed between declining revenues and escalating expenses due to demographic developments. Such a scenario was deemed completely unrealistic, and it became clear that alternative financial strategies would be urgently needed just to sustain the current level of funding. This was a loss of face for the premier of Greenland, Aleqa Hammond, who had been leading a discourse that had become increasingly hostile towards Danish interests in Greenland; she was further embarrassed by a scandal revealing her abuse of government funds. The independence discourse abated, as a new government was established, and intense optimism was succeeded by sense of realism born of necessity. More impartial and balanced strategies for developing the mining and fishing industries have now come to prevail. Still, a large majority of Greenlanders have an emotional desire for independence, which continues to be a key topic, most recently, in 2016, inscribed into the coalition agreement[18] of the current government.

Fieldwork in Nuuk

This political context evidently shaped the expectations and ambitions of the students I went to teach at Ilisimatusarfik in February and March 2015. Together with my co-supervisor I organized a course in 'Memory and Visual Culture – a Greenlandic Perspective' at the Institute of Language, Literature and Media, where previous optimism now appeared to have been superseded by a general scepticism towards Greenlandic politicians and authorities. If some people still had reservations about Danish involvement in Greenlandic affairs, it was not reflected in the students' interest in the colonial photographer Jette Bang. Here, as in Qasigiannguit and Sisimiut, I had a sizeable audience for a public screening of a selection of scenes from Jette Bang's films. At Ilisimatursarfik, I further initiated a collaboration with Niviaq, a bachelor student who would participate in the fieldwork in Ilulissat as an interpreter and informant for me in order to learn about field methods for her own education at the Institute of History and Society at Ilisimatusarfik. During my time here I conducted interviews with various types of informants, collecting knowledge about the role of industrialization in current

[18] http://naalakkersuisut.gl/en/Naalakkersuisut/Koalitionsaftale.

history writing, for instance, in educational curricula, and getting some initial impressions of memories from the mining industry.

In 2013 I had met a Greenlandic artist, whom I wanted to include in my fieldworks. My ambition was that we would reciprocally be inspired by each other's works in the field, and that he would produce a work of art that would further serve to both document and elicit memories from the past five decades. In the course of 2014, to my chagrin he realized that he was too busy, at the verge of a stress diagnosis, editing a film about the most famous Greenlandic band ever, Sume (Høegh 2014). Little did I know the role this film would come to play in my analysis, as it became a film that literally every second Greenlander went to watch. In Chapter 8, I describe the impact of his artistic works as an important source of inspiration for my project.

Fieldworks in Ilulissat

In April and May 2015, I went with Niviaq to Ilulissat. We were put up in a private home and had our daily doings at the Ilulissat Museum, the birthplace of famous explorer Knud Rasmussen. The museum served as a point of departure for my contacts with a long list of informants whom we or – when people spoke Danish – I visited in their private homes, sometimes screening a selection of Jette Bangs films, sometimes conducting interviews and sometimes just chatting or attending a *kaffemik*[19]. Here too, we arranged public screenings. In May I also made a journey from Ilulissat to the settlement of Qeqertarsuaq, and I worked with the local museum director during three intense days of screenings, interviews and long conversations.

I got the opportunity to return to Ilulissat for a week-long second fieldwork in August 2015. Here, I collaborated with a Swedish research team focusing on the former mining city of Qullissat based on the concept of 'industrial heritage' (Avango and Hacquebord 2013), under the auspices of the programme 'Sustainable Communities and the Legacies of Mining in the Nordic

[19] A '*kaffemik*' (Eng: coffee gathering) denotes a convention for coming together at any or no particular occasion to chat and to eat a generous selection of cakes and cookies and, perhaps, shellfish, fish (sushi has become popular) and reindeer meat or other delicacies.

Arctic'[20]. The memories of Qullissat already constituted an important case for me, but combining my own research interests with the perspective of 'industrial heritage' shed new light on my analysis of the legacy of the mining city, which now further came to include attitudes of such agents as the municipal authorities and the tourism industry. Again, collective and cross-cultural research collaboration came to inform my project.

1.f. Outline of the Thesis

In this chapter I have outlined my field of research, my research question and my theoretical and methodological toolbox. An elaborate introduction to the history of Greenland is necessary when engaging in memory studies here, and while necessarily observing the spatial limitations of the PhD thesis format, in Chapter 2 I seek to provide the reader with a contextual and historical background that is broad enough to define the context of my study. Drawing on available Danish and Greenlandic historical sources I introduce the geographical, demographic and historical landscapes of, first, Greenland and then specifically the Disko Bay area, from the early years of industrialization just before the Second World War to today. A separate section of Chapter 2 deals with colonial and postcolonial archives and museums as key institutions in defining the Greenlandic nation through discourses of nation, archives, ethnicity and cultural heritage.

In Chapter 3, I present my approach to the study of memory as practice (Connerton 1989; 2009) and explain how it connects productively with emotional practices. Emotional memory practices may support and strengthen agencies and act as strong motivating forces for change, but agencies are always restrained by the existing power relations. I here expound a model for conceiving agency on a scale from 'soft' to 'hard' and describe the agent as someone who is never free, but always embedded in social contexts (Ortner 2006:130). I account for qualities inherent in the visual media of film and photography (Barthes 1990[1977]; Banks 2001; Banks and Vokes 2010; Pinney 2003; 2011) that make them particularly well suited for memory works and for being observed in order to conduct analyses of personal and collective memory practices.

[20] http://www.kth.se/en/abe/inst/philhist/historia/forskning/sustainable-communit/scalmin-2-field-work-at-qullissat-western-greenland-1.586372

After outlining my theoretical perspective I elaborate on my methodologies, including my three main methodological approaches in Chapter 4. The title of the thesis reflects this triad, as I first focus on how archives move us in the metaphorical sense that the past influences on us in the present; second, focus on the potentials of photographs and films for eliciting memories of the past; and, third, explore the methodological effects of returning archival films to a source community. In this chapter I also describe my paths into the multi-sited field (Marcus 1998) of memories of industrialization and the initial processes of developing research ideas, making contacts, planning, selecting, attracting attention, engaging with people and then revising my methodologies, sampling and timing in a continual revision of my research design.

My analysis stretches over four chapters, Chapters 5 to 8. In Chapter 5 I examine where it is possible to find collective memories of industrialization: as exhibitions in the four local museums that I collaborated with, at the National Museum in Nuuk, as public memorials and in the current work of the Greenlandic Reconciliation Commission[21]. I here evaluate the emotions embedded in the discourses on industrialization and on the Greenlandic nation as it is presented, for example, as cultural heritage, thus providing a background for understanding the correlations between personal and collective memories in the following three chapters.

The very process of returning the films of Jette Bang to Greenlandic audiences is at the heart of my analysis in Chapter 6. I describe the entire process of the production of the films in 1938–9, the reception and the handling of them in archives and, finally, my own and my colleagues' dealing with them today. This description is framed as a travelogue that connects a diverse range of actors across time and space, including Jette Bang herself, Grønlands Styrelse[22], two national and twelve local museums and fishermen and mining workers in Greenland in 1938–9 and today. My process of returning the films to the Greenlandic museums, and the film elicitations that I

[21] The activities of the Reconciliation Commission would be relevant to my analysis, but I have not been in a position to observe them. First, because the Reconciliation Commission decided not to welcome foreign researchers – an understandable decision, given the delicacy of the issue – and second, because a non-Greenlandic speaker would not understand much of the proceedings, and third, because the activities of the commission have only gained speed during the past year, which was too late for me to make systematic observations for my PhD project.

[22] The Danish colonial administration of Greenland 1925–50.

facilitated during and after screening the films for a range of different audiences will be the object of the other two sections of the chapter.

In pursuing the memories of industrialization and of the resulting transformations of people's everyday, I chose to focus on the two sectors that have been defining in this regard: the fishing and mining industries. In Chapter 7, I analyse two cases of memories of mining. These two cases relate to the two most significant mines, in terms of memory works being practiced in Greenland[23]. As I realized during my fieldworks, these are two highly dissimilar cases of mining memories, and I therefore chose to analyse them in a comparative perspective. The collective memory works commemorating the enforced movement of people from the Qullissat mining city in 1972 have in recent years become vivid, forty years after the mining city closed and was subsequently turned into a symbol of colonial and capitalist oppression. In my analysis of these current memory practices, some memories that had long appeared to be forgotten, now mushroomed as memories that proved functional in explaining and representing certain versions of the past. The expediency of forgetting became clear in a process in which mediated memories gained force, whereas former inhabitants in the city continually had memory practices that entirely escaped these discourses. In comparison, I wondered why there hardly seemed to be any mediated memories of another significant mine, the Black Angel, which had employed hundreds of people from Greenland and more from Denmark and other foreign countries, until it finally closed in 1990.

My analysis in Chapter 7 of the memories of industrial fishing in the Disko Bay area put me into contact with informants whose memory practices varied significantly. Rarely conceiving the value of mediating memories of the fishing industries, a group of these informants hardly kept a picture on the wall from their life at sea, whereas others deviated from that picture. They seemed to draw on their memories as a source for high self-esteem and stronger agency throughout their entire lives. Based on these and a third case, I analyse how personal memory practices are

[23] Other mines have, in other regards, played a significant role in the history of Greenland. In particular the Ivittuut mine has been successful, providing Danish porcelain factories and American war plane factories with cryolite for more than 130 years until its closure in 1987. While many former Danish workers have vivid memories of the place, only a tiny number of Greenlanders were ever employed here.

entangled with collective memory practices, significantly influencing people's agency and their memories of their own agency.

Finally, in Chapter 9, I reach a conclusion in relation to my research question: how do people in Greenland, specifically in the Disko Bay area, currently remember industrialization? Based on my analysis I conclude that memory is a highly emotional practice and hence also subject to change over time. I conclude that memories of Greenlandic agency and of everyday life in industrialized Greenland have largely been neglected in favour of, first, a discourse that largely present Greenlanders as passive victims in the modernization processes from the mid 20th century and, second, a disproportional focus on what is often presented as distinguishing Inuit from the rest of the world, namely their 'traditional' or 'authentic' cultural customs, relating to a pre-modern past that is prominently symbolized by the character of the hunter. I argue that it is possible to move the archives, in a metaphorical sense, and to change the past, or at least our memory practices related to the past – and that such an effort may be wise if Greenland wants to achieve cultural autonomy, a desire that is often expressed by politicians, cultural ambassadors and others.

Chapter 2. Contexts

2.a. Themes, times, spaces

Multi-sited ethnography[24] challenges the concept of context. Inherently, the multiplicity of sites generates a need for multiple contextualizations and may take us in many different directions. Our bodies are still bound to times and spaces, and so is ethnographic fieldwork, even as we recognize the multiplicity of our sites. We follow the connections that our informants point out to us, and in our analyses and writings, we contextualize these connections and describe the multiple 'backgrounds' against which our data resonates. Just as memory processes, the processes of fieldwork, analysis and writing involve continual selecting and deselecting. In contrast to memory processes, however, ethnographers must be able to motivate their selections based on criteria of relevance, and the contexts relevant in this project are largely an outcome of the path I have taken in my fieldwork. Rather than striving to provide a representative, condensed version of Greenland in the past and present I include the information that I found crucial in my research process in order to understand the modes and motivations of my informants, in particular their attitudes towards industrialization, including private memories as well as prominent memory institutions such as archives and museums.

Throughout my analysis in chapters 5–8, I continually reference my data with their sociocultural context and situate them as generated during my research process. Before moving on to that, I find it necessary to offer a brief introduction to the geography, demography, and history of Greenland, specifically with regard to industrialization and the Disko Bay area. Limited by the framework of a PhD dissertation, I aim to provide the reader with a background that is deep and broad enough to provide an overview of, in the first part of the chapter, the particularity of the demographics and geography of Greenland and some pivotal points in the industrialization

[24] My methodological approach is heavily inspired by George Marcus's concept of multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995). I will elaborate further on this in Chapter 4; for now, I will only note that Marcus relieved many ethnographers from an uneasiness with the conceptual boundedness of the traditional fieldwork, which seemed less and less capable of grasping the multiple relations and global connections that constitute a significant part of the experiential world of most human beings today. Widely applied, the concept is still contested and has, for instance, been criticized for not being able to avoid, but only diversify, the very issues of boundedness that it sought to resolve (Candea 2009). For a collection of critical assessments of the concept of multi-sited ethnography, see Falzon (2009).

processes in colonial and postcolonial Greenland. My crucial point here is that neither industrialization nor modernization was something that happened overnight; rather, these developments may be viewed as alterations in the organization of working and living practices that intensified in the 1950s and 60s, based on preceding developments. In the second part of the chapter, I point my lens towards museums and archives, a main focus area in my analysis, outlining a history of how museums and archives have become constitutive aspects of nation-building in Greenland. In the third part of the chapter, I narrow the horizon to the Disko Bay area in the 20th century, as it formed the main setting for the memories that I have explored in my analysis.

Before progressing to the empirical context, I wish to draw attention to the fact that this text on historical contexts is, inherently, also a product of my selections. Historical works on Greenland are numerous, but my criteria have been, whenever possible, to favour recent works that include Greenlandic sources, explore Greenlandic perspectives, focus on the contact zone (Clifford 1997) and take an aspect of power into account (Heinrich 2010; Marquardt 1996; Rosing Olsen 2005; Rosing Olsen 2012; Seiding 2017; Sørensen 2006; Thór, Joensen, and Thorleifsen 2012; Thorleifsen 2016).

2.b. Industrialization in Greenland

A vast geography

With its 2,166,086 km^2 of glaciers, mountains, and tundra, Greenland is the world's biggest island, but due to the inhospitality of the arctic landscapes, only about one fifth of this vast area is inhabitable in a zone between the continental ice sheet and the sea. The settlements and towns are mainly scattered across the west coast, and the few existing small towns and settlements in the eastern and northernmost parts of the country are often isolated for months. The harsh climate conditions only allow access via the sea-, ice- or airborne transportation, and throughout Greenland, there are no roads connecting the individual cities, towns, and settlements.

Populating the huge island

The Greenlandic population is mainly Inuit, stemming from a population designated the Thule culture. These Inuit inhabited the Thule District in north-western Greenland in the 12th century, and from there they spread both south and north-westwards all along the coast (Gulløv 2004:292; Gulløv 2010:24–25). Inuit mixed with Dutch whalers, Danish colonists and others, and today,

virtually every family history includes familial ties with Europeans, in particular Danes. In Greenland, it is a commonly held assessment that one in ten people living in Greenland is 'a Dane'; since the 1860s, however, the issue of ethnic 'mixing' has eluded clear-cut definitions,[25] and thus, there is no exact picture of the share of 'Danes' compared to 'Greenlanders'. While an 'Inuit identity' remains a popular aspiration in cultural and ethnic politics, for instance when Greenlanders engage in the work of the Inuit Circumpolar Council, the population of Greenland is both culturally and ethnically diverse, as represented poetically in a publication named 'The Silent Diversity' by the artist Julie Hardenberg (2005).

Limited demographics

The past century has seen immense population growth, driven mainly by the impact of industrialization. Growing from 11,893 in 1901 to 21,412 in 1946, the population doubled again in only two decades, reaching 43,792 by 1968. In recent years, the number of inhabitants appears to have stagnated around 56,000[26]. There has been a significant migration from settlements to the larger towns and the capital city, Nuuk, and in particular since the 1950s, the share of the population living in settlements has declined, so that only about 13%[27] are reported to live in settlements today, while the capital, Nuuk, is home to almost a third of the population.

Pervasive infrastructures

Electricity, mobile coverage, and internet access are available in any populated settlement. Despite very high rates and unstable connectivity, 11,918 internet subscribers connected about half of the households to the internet in 2014. In the same year, no fewer than 62,005 mobile phones were registered, facilitating a highly globally oriented media use (Greenland Statistics

[25] See Wilhjelm (2008:25) for a 19th-century definition of 'mixed people' (Danish: blandinger'). Originally, the term referred to a child born in wedlock with a European father and a 'real' Inuit mother; however, 'as time went by, the term in practice lost much of its original meaning and came to be applied to natives who, in one way or another, could claim to have a European among their ancestors.' (Marquardt 1996:98). In 1860, Jørgensen, a missionary in charge of the Royal Mission in the Godthaab district, 'stated that "in most cases it is completely impossible for the single individual to say with certainty whether he is a Blanding or not"' (Marquardt 1996:99); on that basis, Jørgensen 'refrained from dividing his flock into Greenlanders and Blandinger'(Marquardt 1996:99).

[26] The most recent census of July 2016 recorded 56,186 inhabitants in Greenland (Greenland Statistics 2016).

[27] 7,435 persons (Greenland Statistics 2016).

2016). Television is broadcast by the national KNR[28] on two channels with both Greenlandic and Danish programming. KNR also produces a 24-hour radio service, which is highly popular, particularly among the elderly, Greenlandic-speaking population. The same applies to the local radio and television broadcasts from about ten towns (Rygaard 2002; 2013)[29].

Early roots of industrialization

Although the 1950s and 60s are generally regarded as the years of the most intensive industrialization, I find it productive, in accordance with the historian Ole Marquardt (1996), to regard the events of those decades as a continuation of developments that date back at least a hundred years. Already by the mid 19th century, quite a few Greenlanders were literate and worked either as catechists[30], as craftsmen or in the Royal Greenlandic Trade Department[31], that is, in jobs that were very different from the subsistence economy[32]. In 1857, the inspector for Southern Greenland, Hinrich J. Rink (1819–1893) founded the so-called 'forstanderskaber'[33], an institution that promoted Greenlandic co-determination and participation in politics and administration. He also founded a printing house in Nuuk (then Godthåb) and a newspaper, which still exists today (Rud 2006; Thisted 1990:112–3; Thuesen 1988:61ff). Marquardt writes:

> Normally the diffusion of wage labour among the members of a society is seen as an important indication of the 'westernization' or 'modernization' of this society. Seen from this angle West Greenland was in the second half of the 19th century a surprisingly westernized society. […] Possible humiliating remarks from the sealhunters notwithstanding, the Greenlandic RGTD[34] employees had good reasons for turning to the 'European trades' for their income sources. Without entering into

[28] Kalaallit Nunaata Radioa = Greenlandic Broadcasting Corporation.
[29] For a multi-media critical, historical survey, see Rygaard (2013) .
[30] Catechists were assistants to the priests. They were stationed in the settlements, propagating the word of God and teaching the local population to read and write. Ever since 1845, most of them were trained at the teachers' colleges in Nuuk (then Godthåb) and Ilulissat (then Jakobshavn).
[31] Marquardt assessed that as many as 2.7% of the population in Greenland in 1855 and 2.3% in 1880 were employed at the Royal Greenlandic Trade Department. This was a higher rate than the share of people in Denmark earning their livelihood by means of commercial transactions (Marquardt 1996:90).
[32] See, for instance Thisted (1999:71–75), which includes profiles of almost 60 such literate men who wrote stories for Inspector Rink. Rink collected these recollected narratives and myths and published them with illustrations by the famous Aron of Kangeq.
[33] Literally 'the managements', often translated into the 'board of guardians'.
[34] RGTD = The Royal Greenlandic Trade Department = Danish: KGH (Kongelige Grønlandske Handel).

> the details of the matter in the present context it can be mentioned that the income source of the employees was permanent and secure, whereas that of their sealhunting compatriots was exposed to the whims of the weather, the dangers of the kayak-hunt and the migrations of the marine mammals. Furthermore, apart from some North Greenlandic districts it was also considerably greater than was that of an average sealhunter – even allowing for the value of that part of the catch which was consumed by the hunter and his family themselves (Marquardt 1996:106–7).

Resource extraction since prehistoric times

In Europe, the number of mines, factories, and steam engines and trains multiplied during the second half of the 19th century; in Greenland this development occurred somewhat later, namely during the first decades of the 20th century, at which time people began to work in the first fish factories or in one of the few active mines. Although large-scale mining is primarily related to industrialization, the history of resource extraction for trade purposes can be traced back to prehistoric times, as soapstone, meteoric iron, copper, and certain types of rocks were traded across large distances on the west coast and all the way into present-day Canada (Gulløv 2004:197–199). Rich coal deposits have always provided an available resource for people on Disko Island and on the Nuusuaq peninsula (Jensen and Petersen 1998:137). Here, where Qaarsut airport is located today, the first larger mine was operational from 1778 until 1924, when several of the workers moved to a new, larger mine in Qullissat. The colonial administration expected that the entire Greenlandic population would now replace their blubber lamps with modern stoves and thus raise the demand for coal.

In the mid 1930s, the Danish photographer and filmmaker Jette Bang travelled across Greenland and was able to document the miners' work in Qullissat, fishing cutters in a row in Disko Bay as well as a shipyard, a shrimp factory and a cannery in the ambitious town of Sisimiut some 150 km further south. Although her work constitutes a highly selective representation of Greenland, it documents that industrial developments were underway. It is worth noting that many of the people who now worked as wage labourers, in the mines or in industrial fisheries, maintained a concurrent hunting practice, anticipating a way of living that remains common today.

The effects of industrialization

During the 1930s, the Danish colonial administration, Grønlands Styrelse had a positive view of all the new developments in Greenland, anticipating how technological innovations and an orchestrated reorganization of the workforce would lead the Greenlanders into a richer and safer future where everyone had enough to eat, a nicely heated home and access to healthcare. As I will demonstrate in Chapter 6, in analysing the context of Jette Bang's recordings in West Greenland this belief was often narratively expressed and widely shared, both within Greenland and with the general Danish public.

The war changed the political situation dramatically, as the connection between Greenland and German-occupied Denmark was severed completely. The United States soon offered to supply Greenland in a trade involving large amounts of cryolite, a highly desirable mineral used to extract aluminium for the production of warplanes. Many Greenlanders now experienced an abundance of goods, many of which they had never seen before. Despite the material benefits of the new American connection, the reunification with Denmark was celebrated as a joyful event, but soon after, a strong desire for reforms was raised. Although there seemed to be consensus about the need for development, the ensuing political events and negotiations proved complicated (Heinrich 2010:196 ff; Rosing Olsen 2005:21–29; Sørensen 2006:80–95).

In 1948, a commission was established to work out a reform proposal for modernizing Greenland. The commission comprised 105 persons, among them only 15 from Greenland, as noted by Rosing Olsen (2005:28–29). In the spring of 1950, a reform, known as 'G50', was approved, which aimed to reduce the number of settlements and concentrate the population in larger population centres, improve the school system, reorganize the hospital service and raise the housing standard. The engine for economic development was to be new industrial fisheries in five southwestern cities with ice-free ports, including Nuuk, Ilulissat and Sisimiut. Heavy investments in harbour facilities, roads, power stations, waterworks etc. now transformed these towns and cities, and the social and cultural environment accordingly (Rosing Olsen 2005:28–33). The impact on the economy was immense, but the reform process did not develop quite as planned (Sørensen 2006:116–7). Whereas the fisheries generated many new jobs in the 1950s, in other sectors few Greenlanders matched the needs for an educated workforce, and schoolteachers, doctors, and nurses as well as carpenters, masons, and engineers were recruited from Denmark. A master plan for letting Danish private enterprises take the lead in economic development did not materialize, just as requirements to have Greenlanders participate in

management and production had to be relaxed. As a result, the state sector grew faster than the private sector, and most of those private enterprises, outside fishing and hunting, that actually existed were Danish-owned. The Danish workers accounted for two thirds of the total income of the population of Greenland in 1955, and as much as eight tenths in 1962, even though there were only eight Danes, reportedly, for every one hundred Greenlanders living in the country (Sørensen 2006:117).

On 6 June 1953, Greenland had gained the status of a county within the state of Denmark, but that did not lead to equal conditions everywhere (Thór, Joensen, and Thorleifsen 2012:450). From 1958 a so-called 'home-criterion', replaced in 1964 by a 'birthplace criterion', determined that salaries of Greenlandic workers should be significantly reduced in comparison with the salaries of Danish workers in Greenland. The argument was that in order to attract a Danish workforce, Danish workers had to maintain wages on the same level as they would in Denmark, whereas the level in Greenland should remain lower. One result of the dissatisfaction with this arrangement was the establishment of Greenland's first political parties in the 1960s.

Many Greenlanders moved to the cities and towns from the settlements during these years, and both women and men became wage workers. The general health situation improved, the child mortality rate fell, and the mortality rate among tuberculosis patients was reduced from 32.2% in the 1950s to only 5% by 1960 (Rosing Olsen 2005:58). Some enjoyed the new material comforts, others did not adjust well, and some found it hard to get used to a money economy and struggled to pay off loans for the new and more expensive houses. Social problems ensued, and when alcohol became available for sale in 1954, it drastically increased the challenges. Historian Rosing Olsen noted, 'People may get the feeling that development moves too fast when they themselves are cut off from influence' (Rosing Olsen 2005:56)[35] and later concluded, 'It is a matter of course that the technological development was one thing, whereas the general public's adaptation to the new life was something rather different. Uncertainty and inferiority complexes were no longer alien concepts' (Rosing Olsen 2005:57)[36]. It became common for both Danes and

[35] My translation from the Danish.
[36] My translation from the Danish.

Greenlanders to regard the latter as 'spectators to development' (Sørensen 2006:117; Rosing Olsen 2005:79). Professor Robert Petersen has described the situation as follows:

> What has changed from earlier times is the speed by which developments take place[…]. Many came from Denmark to work here, and I think that it influenced our view of the Danes for the subsequent 20 years considerably. Most of them arrived without a family, in order to work, in order to earn money and then hurry back home. Consequently, they were very busy and did not take the time to associate with the local population. This led to the perception that Danes attached weight to 'efficiency', the ability to work fast, whereas Greenlanders attached more importance to the social relations with others. However, the fishermen purchased new vessels, they did not just remain spectators, and when they had purchased the vessels, it was the beginning of sea-going fishery. One of the most significant changes was the structuring of a fishing industry where women and housewives, who hitherto had worked at home, raising the children, now began to work outside the home for many hours.
> (Petersen in Rosing Olsen 2005:59–60)[37]

In order to raise the level of education, an ambition emerged of training all pupils to become bilingual to enable them to gain access to advanced education programmes in Denmark. Large numbers of schoolchildren and youths went to Denmark for a year, some for longer, some forever, for education and training in speaking Danish and it took time before positive developments ensued in Greenland. On the downside, many struggled to learn Danish, sometimes at the expense of practicing Greenlandic. The issue of languages became confused, and it has remained problematic to this day. In retrospect, the 1950s have been termed the years of 'danification', and many have characterized them as a decade of disproportions, where the intended equality 'was very difficult for Greenlanders to catch sight of', in the words of Rosing Olsen (2005:77).

[37] My translation from the Danish.

Towards independence

In the late 1960s, the criticism of Danish interests in Greenland intensified. Claims were raised for increasing Greenlandic self-governance in order for future developments to be based on Greenlandic, rather than Danish, premises. One example is the re-emergence of the Aasiviit summons from 1976 onwards[38]. Aasivik, translated from the Greenlandic as 'the place where one stays during the summer' (Grønnow, Meldgaard, and Nielsen 1983:89) was traditionally an Inuit summer gathering whereto men and women travelled, often from far away, to meet and hunt, to trade, to exchange news, stories, and experiences, to meet new partners, and to reconnect with friends and family. Aasivik 1976 was planned to be a music festival but turned into a political and cultural forum with discussions about the colonial situation and of a wide range of other social and political issues. This became a model for annual Aasiviit[39] in the 1970s and 80s, but 'while the aasiviit of the 1970s and 1980s played a key role in Greenland's nation building, the aasiviit of the 1990s gradually lost immediate political importance and served more as cultural summer festivals' (Nuttall 2012a:3), although they remained 'strong signs of a dynamic Greenlandic culture and identity' according to Nuttall (2012a:3).

Identifications along ethnic lines had grown more common during these decades, and in 1977 Greenland joined other Inuit communities from Alaska, Canada, and Russia in the Inuit Circumpolar Council. The council convenes once every four years to discuss common interests and challenges and possibly take action together (Thorleifsen 2016:126–8). ICC has worked out collective resolutions, for instance, against the military build-up in the Arctic or in support of the creation of common Arctic environmental policies. The work of the ICC has led to articulation of common Inuit identities but it has also uncovered differences. The Danish anthropologist Jens Dahl noted that it occasionally caused difficulties that through Home Rule, the people of Greenland had achieved rights and powers that the other Inuit were still fighting for. When the Greenlandic members raised their demands, they negotiated these with Greenland's Provincial Council and later with the Home Rule administration, whereas the counterpart for the Canadian and Alaskan Inuit were Canadian and American governmental authorities (Dahl 1986:190).

[38] Aasiviit continued almost annually and, to my knowledge definitely occurred in 1977, 1978, 1979 (Qullissat), 1980, 1981, 1982, 1985, 1997, 2004, 2012 (Qullissat), and 2016 (Narsaq) as well as possibly other years.

[39] Aasiviit: plural for Aasivik.

The abandonment of the coal mining city of Qullissat around 1970, an allocation of oil drilling concessions for foreign companies, a general dissatisfaction with 'remote controlling' from Copenhagen, and a coerced membership by default when Denmark joined the European Economic Community (now the European Union), although 70% of the Greenlandic votes were 'no', coalesced into a growing call for independence. Intense negotiations ensued, not least over the rights to Greenland's extractive resources and over the Danish subsidies for the administration, and in 1979 a Home Rule Act was approved by a large majority of Greenlandic voters (Rosing Olsen 2005:235 ff; Thór, Joensen, and Thorleifsen 2012:452ff).

The Home Rule administration now took charge over a growing number of areas. In practice, the public servants moved from Copenhagen to Nuuk, and the management and administration largely remained based on the same principles as before. Even though Greenlandic politicians were allocated more power, the fact that most of the officials running the administration were Danish gave rise to critical voices. During the 1999 election campaign for the Home Rule administration, a number of candidates left the ruling Siumut party in a protest against the party's increasingly close ties to Denmark. The second-largest party, Inuit Ataqatigiit, remained critical, and after the elections the two parties found one another in a coalition based on a promise to uncover the role of Greenland in the Unity of the Realm. They established a Self-Government Commission, which over the coming years would prepare the transition to Self-Government (Thór, Joensen, and Thorleifsen 2012:452–462). It became a reality in 2009, and in the preamble to the Act on Greenland Self-Government, it reads as follows:

> WE, MARGRETHE THE SECOND, by God's Grace Queen of Denmark, hereby announce that:
>
> The Danish Parliament has passed the following Act, which We have ratified by giving Our assent:
>
> > Recognising that the people of Greenland is a people pursuant to international law with the right of self-determination, the Act is based on a wish to foster equality and mutual respect in the partnership between Denmark and Greenland. Accordingly, the Act is based on an agreement between Naalakkersuisut [Greenland Government] and the Danish Government as equal partners. (Statsministeriet 2009)

As noted by Thisted (2013:234), the Greenlandic political system now gained recognition as a fully equal negotiation partner, and Greenland thus moved away from its minority status. The Act on Greenland Self-Government established a greater degree of self-governance and opened a path to complete independence, should the Greenlanders want it (Sejersen 2015:46). It also allocates a growing number of responsibilities to Naalakkersuisut[40].

According to Sejersen (2015:64) Greenland goes in these years through a 'second wave of industrialization' of a different nature, speed and extent than before and he points out that 'One primary difference is that the Greenlanders themselves are driving the processes of industrialization. Moreover, an integrated part of the post-colonial intention has been to become less dependent on economic support from Denmark. The "second wave of industrialization" therefore has a strong national component and includes a reorganization of society' (Sejersen 2015:64). The Self-Government administration has taken over responsibility of the mineral resources. It now holds the right to utilize the mineral resources found in the subsoil and the resulting revenues are likely to influence the economic balance between Greenland and Denmark. Today, Greenland receives an annual block grant from Denmark of around DKK 3.7 billion, whereas anticipated future revenues from the mining industry will reduce the subsidies in accordance with a pre-arranged formula.

A postcolonial heritage

A recent report (Dahl-Petersen et al. 2016) on the general health, lifestyles and living conditions in Greenland in 2014 disappointingly found, not for the first time, that the population in Greenland, and the young people in particular, face alarmingly severe challenges. The report documented that almost one in three youths had been sexually abused before her or his 18th birthday, in East Greenland even one in two; that almost every one in five persons aged 18 to 29 years has attempted suicide within the year preceding the survey; and that one in five parents has a potentially harmful level of alcohol consumption. In discussions of these disturbing and complex social issues, the years of industrialization and modernization are sometimes proposed as part of the explanation of today's problems (see for instance Bjerregaard 2016:253; Hersher 2016). Alienation and social deprivation are then perceived either as a result of Danish

[40] Naalakkersuisut = The government of Greenland.

domination or as a consequence of abandoning the traditional hunting culture.

Thisted (2013; forthcoming) has identified two narratives that are commonly used in envisaging the relationship between Greenlanders and Danes, and which are occasionally brought up in the debate about contemporary social hardships. One, rooted in the developmental optimism of Enlightenment, and in Greenland best personified by the famous and half-Danish polar explorer Knud Rasmussen[41], links the Danish subordination of Greenlanders' 'natural ways of life' with a 'fatal impact' in the form of alienation and inferiority complexes. According to this cultural narrative, Inuit 'belong' in the Arctic region and are so closely associated with the hunting culture that it appears almost impossible to imagine the existence of the Inuit without this culture' (Thisted 2013:229). By consequence, they are doomed in the meeting with a modern, global world that, regrettably, yet necessarily, imposes itself on all the world's authentic cultures. The other narrative is political, in that it tells a story of skilled Danes coming as benevolent helpers to build up the modern Greenland, while the Greenlanders passively look on. According to this narrative, the Danes have 'always' exerted an exceptionally benign and 'gentle' colonialism for the good of Greenland (Thisted 2013:253). Thisted sums up this view:

> During colonial times, the Greenlanders idealized and subjectified the Danes. Once they recognized that there was no way the Danes would let them pass as Danes, no matter how much they were formally declared Danish citizens, the Greenlanders began to idealise what was considered 'their own' culture. Since this was defined in opposition to things Danish, the pre-colonial Inuit became a new point of reference for Greenlandic identity. However, the Greenlanders were not precolonial Inuit any more. Again, they could only fall short of the ideal. (Thisted forthcoming:22)

In Chapter 3, I develop this argument a little further by showing how, in a postcolonial[42]

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[41] Thisted (2006:131ff) demonstrates how Knud Rasmussen in his writings expressed that the traditional Inuit culture was not compatible with modernity.

[42] In line with Hall (2001) I understand the 'postcolonial' condition not only as a direct confrontation with the colonial constitution but also the decolonising processes that we see for instance in Greenland today. The postcolonial condition is something that we experience and something which is continually under deconstruction.

perspective, these narratives all assign Greenlanders a role as passive victims, while Danes are cast as either benevolent protectors or greedy colonialists, according to one's political perspective. Postcolonial heritage is a continually developing and contested field (see for instance Breum 2016; Jensen 2012; Gad 2009; Gant 1988; Gant 2003; Körber and Volquardsen 2014:283 ff; Thisted 2014a; Thisted 2014b; Thisted 2015), which involves various positions, including preferences for speaking of de-colonizing processes or post-postcolonial relations instead[43], a claim that Greenland was never colonized (Kjærgaard 2014), and a claim that the Danish-Greenlandic postcolonial relationship is exceptional, first and foremost due to its delay in comparison with confrontations and consequent reflections in other relations between former colonizing and colonized peoples (Jensen 2012). These reflective positions are not everyday concerns for most Greenlanders, and the younger generations in particular sometimes express an exhaustion over dealing with postcolonial issues, preferring instead to focus on their contemporary experiences of living in a glocal world, including being part of a bilingual and mixed population with ever-present references to 'Denmark'.

Three exceptional cases

In colonial encounters on a global scale, the Greenlandic-Danish case is exceptional in the sense that Danish colonialists and missionaries never raised a weapon against the Greenlanders (Petersen 1995:119) and in the sense that initiatives were taken as early as the 19th century to maintain the Greenlandic language, make the population literate and introduce at least some degree of self-governance. That should not preclude us from drawing attention to widespread symbolic violence embedded in colonial practices and executed through more or less subtle strategies of dominance. At least three cases of exception, however, have been adduced where the execution of power took on violent forms[44]. They all took place during the years of industrialization and modernization. The memory practices on them in Greenland have been very heterogenous and I have chosen to pursue memories surrounding the widely contested Qullissat

[43] This position reflects in discourses of my young Nuuk informants (cf. Chapter 7).

[44] Depending on how one defines violence, a range of cases in earlier decades can be added to the list. For instance, we may question whether the Danish administration used force in 1925 when 100 men, women, and children were moved from Ammasalik (now Tasiilaq) in East Greenland to a new location some 1,000 kilometres further north to establish a town here, the purpose of which was a combination of a strategic goal of claiming the land in a conflict with Norwegian interests and an alleged effort to provide the population with better hunting grounds here (Arke 2003:10).

case in my fieldwork, because my informants directed my attention towards it. The other two, however, along with the silence surrounding them, are mentioned here, as they form a significant part of the context for my analysis of people's memories of industrialization. As I will explore in further detail in Chapter 3 when discussing my theoretical perspectives on memory, they exemplify how some memories are silenced and perhaps almost forgotten, whereas others become functionalized and distributed as narratives to larger groups of people. They become functional memory at a particular point in time and space, and may at other times withdraw to hibernate in the larger pool of archival memories (A.Assmann 2011).

All three cases have in recent years become subjects of film productions, the Qullissat case figuring in the documentary 'Sume – the sound of a revolution' by a Greenlandic film production company (Høegh 2014), whereas the two other cases were fictionalized in Danish productions (Friedberg 2010; and Rosendahl 2015, respectively). All three films squarely placed an unresolved question of guilt in the former Danish colonial administration, the two latter primarily addressing Danish audiences and authorities. 'The Experiment' (Friedberg 2010) was based on a true story of 22 Greenlandic children who in 1951 were selected by the Danish Red Cross for an experiment that had them travelling to Denmark for two years of schooling and then returning to Greenland. Here, they were expected to grow up to serve as elite Danish role models, but instead the experiment turned the children into unhappy and lonely aliens to their own families and society. The other Danish fictional film, 'Idealisten' (Rosendahl 2015), was based on another true story, namely the removal in 1953 of the entire population of the settlement of Uummannaq in the Thule district in Greenland's farthest north. In 1951, a U.S. military base had been established right next to their settlement, and their area was now to be included in the expanded 'Thule Defence Area'. They were given three days to move. All three cases have sparked debate about the need for a public apology, but they have only lead to a single apology, not from the Danish state but from the Danish branch of the private organization 'Save the Children', which apologized to the four surviving children who had been part of 'the experiment'(Nielsen and Korsgaard 2010).

2.c. Colonial and postcolonial archives and museums

The point of departure for my analysis has been museological collaborations, and in this chapter I therefore offer a brief historical background on the development of a national museum and archives, including a decentralized museum service. Museums and archives are among the most prominent promoters of history, addressing both local audiences and tourists. They share the

field with such agencies as schools and other educational institutions, artists, authors, filmmakers, broadcasters, tourism agencies, politicians, and designers. It will, in Chapters 5 to 8, be evident that I have occasionally, when I found it relevant, also included in my analysis the roles of some of these in promoting historical awareness. In the present chapter, I focus on the roles that museums and archives have played in nation building before and after Home Rule and Self-Government.

A history of Nunatta Katersugaasivia Allagaateqarfialu, the National Museum of Greenland

The national museum and archives, NKA[45], celebrated its 50th anniversary in August 2016. The idea of a museum was first aired in 1914, but it was only in the 1950s that dedicated enthusiasts built up a collection of expedition gear and artefacts from the traditional hunting culture (Thorleifsen 2016; Schultz-Lorentzen 1997). The National Museum of Denmark designed a plan for a new museum building, but Greenland's Provincial Council[46] refused it on the grounds that the budget – DKK one million – was too high. Instead, the museum was installed in the old missionary building in New Herrnhut, in central Nuuk (then Godthåb)[47]. It opened in August 1966, constituted as a regional museum, the Greenland Museum, under the Danish Act on Museums. The very first exhibitions showcased hunting equipment, such as kayaks, weapons, and tools; another section showcased domestic utensils, such as blubber lamps and sewing utensils and a model of a woman on her sleeping platform; a whaler's living room; a room representing activities of the Royal Greenlandic Trade Department[48]; an exhibition of wood carvings by Aron of Kangeq; artefacts related to the missionary and linguist Samuel Kleinschmidt; and finally some examples of Greenlandic folk art (Thorleifsen 2016:32-34). Few years later, in 1971, the Greenland Museum in collaboration with the Danish National Museum organized a temporary exhibition celebrating the 250th anniversary of the arrival of the Danish missionary and first colonizer, Hans Povelsen Egede (1686–1758) and the introduction of Christianity in Greenland.

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[45] NKA: Nunatta Katersugaasivia Allagaateqarfialu (Grl.) = Grønlands Nationalmuseum og Arkiv
[46] Landsrådet for Grønland.
[47] In the years before and after Home Rule, all main towns and cities bearing colonial names were renamed.
[48] The Royal Greenlandic Trade Department = RGTD = Danish: KGH (Kongelige Grønlandske Handel).

In 1971, the museum's status changed, as it was designated the main museum in its field and was assigned additional responsibilities. It was now authorized to establish local museums, and it could also, as it did in 1974, lawfully take over the responsibility for Greenland's historical and prehistoric remains. The museum field thus became the vanguard in a general heightening of national, political and ethnic awareness. When Home Rule was established in 1979, the museums and archives were among the first areas of responsibility to be taken over by the Greenlandic Home Rule administration. A first key achievement was the Greenlandic Museum Act, which took effect from 1981.

Utimut

A member of the Greenlandic parliament had in 1976 raised the issue of repatriating some of the cultural-historical artefacts that Danish expeditions and researchers had brought from Greenland to the National Museum in Copenhagen. Here, the Ethnographic Collections replied that they had already, in 1961, worked out a proposal for 'the establishment and operation of a Greenland Museum', which stated the National Museum of Denmark perceived a return of collections to Greenland both natural and fair (Thorleifsen 2016:70; Schultz-Lorentzen 1997:281). So far, neither facilities nor personnel at the Greenland Museum had been ready to receive, preserve, and exhibit large collections, but in 1978, the employment of a museum professional from Denmark and a move to newly renovated buildings in Nuuk's colonial harbour improved the situation.

In 1982, a first repatriation from the National Museum in Copenhagen was carried out, under intense attention from Greenlandic, Danish, and international media. A total of 204 watercolour paintings by the Greenlandic hunters Aron of Kangeq and Jens Kreutzmann of Kangamiut [49] were handed over to the National Museum in Nuuk. The 19th-century motifs depict local legends and stories, and the collection is of outstanding cultural-historical importance (Thorleifsen 2016:98; Grønnow and Lund Jensen 2008:183; Rosing and Haagen 1982; Schultz-Lorentzen 1997:284). The Danish Ministry of Culture together with the Home Rule administration now appointed a commission with representatives from both museums and established a Greenland

[49] Read more about the two early artists in Meldgaard (1982), Thisted (1999), Thisted (1997), and Rosing and Haagen (1982).

secretariat at the National Museum in Copenhagen. Over the following 19 years, this secretariat would segregate some 35,000 ethnographic and archaeological artefacts which, along with archival material, would be repatriated to the National Museum in Nuuk in a process that came to be termed 'Utimut', Greenlandic for *Returns* (Gabriel 2010:105; Pentz 2004). Among the criteria for breaking up the extensive collections were the facts that both museums would come to hold 'a representative collection of objects from Greenland' (Grønnow and Lund Jensen 2008:184), and that both collections 'would contain ample material suitable for popularization, research, study, and teaching' (ibid.). The repatriation of artefacts would become a central part of a capacity building process in which Greenlandic museum staff also received education in preservation, research, and setting up exhibitions. Accounts and reports from excavations, diaries, and an archive of prehistoric sites in Greenland were also handed over to the museum in Nuuk in a process that representatives of both museums reported as taking place in an undramatic process of agreement, cooperation, and mutual respect (Thorleifsen 2008:10; Grønnow and Lund Jensen 2008:188). The Greenland secretariat registered and conserved all the artefacts before the dispatch. In 2001, the secretariat concluded its assignment and was dismantled.

Local museums

Today, 14 out of Greenland's 18 towns have a local museum. Most of these were created by dedicated local enthusiasts in the late 1970s and supported and managed by local boards. Almost all of them were installed in historical buildings dating back to the colonial era, typically the former residence of the colony manager. These museums all receive visitors, locals as well as tourists, and their staff participates in archaeological, ethnological, and historical surveys and in the collection of data and archival records. They collaborate with the NKA and directly with Danish and other international museums and researchers. In 2009, a reform reassigned the management of these local museums to the municipal authorities, and for many of the museums this implied an economic and managerial setback, leaving them with budget cuts and, in many cases, without a director with museum training, sometimes for several years (Thorleifsen 2016:250–6).

National Archives

In January 1991, the National Museum of Greenland merged with the Greenland Archive[50]to become the current Nunatta Katersugaasivia Allagaateqarfialu (NKA), the National Museum and Archives of Greenland. The archives were dispersed throughout various locations in Nuuk, and more storage space was needed, so in 2008, the archives moved to the new university campus, Illimarfik, together with Ilisimatusarfik, the University of Greenland,[51] and Pinngortitaleriffik, the Greenland Institute of Natural Resources.

The archives hold records from private and public institutions and businesses, segregated from Danish archives before and after the introduction of Home Rule or submitted directly to the archives. The oldest documents date back to 1733. The history of Danish-Norwegian-Greenlandic expeditions in particular has generated numerous archival records and artefacts of potential interest to audiences and researchers in all three countries, and these are mainly kept in Denmark. Therefore, NKA has requested collections from Danish public (for instance, the National Archives) or private (for instance, the comprehensive Danish Arctic Institute or the House of Knud Rasmussen) archives, sometimes sparking complicated and prolonged negotiations. In other cases, they have been offered collections as gifts from these archives (Thorleifsen 2016:150–178). Today, an archival law and a number of bilateral agreements regulate the distribution of records. One basic principle is that records produced in Greenland, such as archaeological data, photographs, or expedition diaries, must be kept, as originals or copies, in Greenland.

The Greenland Archives were fostered by the colonial administration, and that fact sometimes makes the authority and legitimacy of the present Nunatta Katersugaasivia Allagaateqarfialu[52] rather vulnerable, as I will discuss further in my analysis in Chapter 5.

Museum contact zones

I view the multiple contemporary relations between the NKA, the Greenlandic local museums, and all their international partners as a continuum forming a museum contact zone that has

[50] Grønlands Landsarkiv.
[51] Ilisimatusarfik had been formally established in 1989.
[52] Greenland National Archives = Danish: Grønlands Nationalarkiv.

evolved from colonial relations, where the Greenlandic museums are continually renegotiating their local, national, and global orientation. Clifford borrowed the term *contact zones* from Mary Louise Pratt, who characterized these as:

> The space of colonial encounters, the space in which people geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict. (Pratt 1992:6)

With the term *contact zone*, Pratt stressed the interactive, improvised, and reciprocal dimensions of the colonial encounter, resisting a widespread trend of perceiving non-Western cultures as subjects to *acculturation*. Pratt attached weight to the multiple ways in which subjects are constituted in and by their mutual relations, interactions, co-presences, interlocking understandings, and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power (Pratt 1992:7). The contact perspective may, as the anthropologist James Clifford did in 1997, productively be applied to museums in a globalized world:

> When museums are seen as contact zones, their organizing structure as a collection becomes an ongoing historical, political, moral relationship – a power-charged set of exchanges, of push and pull […] A center and a periphery are assumed: the center a point of gathering, the periphery an area of discovery. The museum, usually located in a metropolitan city, is the historical destination for the cultural productions it lovingly and authoritatively salvages, cares for, and interprets. (Clifford 1997:193)

That description is very apt as regards the National Museum in Copenhagen before Home Rule, seen in relation to a Greenlandic periphery that includes the Greenland Museum, the local museums, and numerous archaeological sites. With the introduction of Home Rule in 1979, with NKA's new status of a national main museum, and with the Utimut repatriation process, this structure has dramatically changed, and NKA is now itself a centre in relation to the local museums, responsible for prehistoric and historical sites throughout Greenland. A great deal of decentralized coordination now takes place in a network of Greenlandic museums, KANUKOKA. A multiplicity of relations between Greenlandic and Danish institutions have resulted, as the Utimut agreements specified that NKA may also draw on expertise in research

and conservation as well as on laboratories and other facilities in a range of Danish institutions besides the National Museum. Most notably, it was agreed that NKA also has the right of ownership to human remains stemming from Greenland, mainly bones from archaeological excavations, which are deposited for an indefinite period at the Panum Institute at the University of Copenhagen, and to collections of animal bones and fossils, which are kept at the Natural History Museum of Denmark, since NKA does not have climate-regulated museum storage facilities at its disposal.

Repatriation as a new beginning

As noted by Gabriel, it has often been claimed that in the wake of any decolonization process, there should be a repatriation of the former colony's cultural heritage to mark the closure of the prior relationship. However, Gabriel points out that because the collections left Denmark as scientific collections and arrived in Greenland as national collections, the repatriation process came to manifest the exact opposite, namely a new beginning (Gabriel 2011:468; see also Thorleifsen 2008:10). This seems to be a main conclusion in both of the two national museums, as expressed in a publication following an international conference on repatriation that the two museums co-hosted in Nuuk:

> The primary goal of repatriation should never be the transfer itself but the establishment of a working relationship that can be beneficial to all parties involved, regarding, for instance, the sharing of knowledge in future research projects, exhibitions, etc. (Director of National Museum of Greenland, Thorleifsen 2008:11)

> For the National Museum of Denmark, the result of repatriation was not merely the return of items and collections to Greenland; it also paved the way for cooperation with the entire Greenlandic museum system, including the local museums in Greenland. (Grønnow and Lund Jensen 2008:190)

The anniversary publication commemorating the first 50 years of the NKA (Thorleifsen 2008) clearly reflects the close and numerous political and professional relations between staff at the two museums and the Greenlandic local museums. These relations have also been personal, and in many cases, staff members have circulated between the two institutions. With the Utimut process, the relations have continued but also changed. Today, the NKA is able to draw on

substantial collections when developing exhibitions aimed at both Greenlandic and international visitors and tourists. The NKA is continually engaged in both national and international research projects and holds the sovereign authority to conduct research and dissemination activities in Greenland and is thus a main actor in defining Greenland's cultural heritage. The anniversary book reports no postcolonial confrontations, but there is a clear development away from the former dominant orientation towards the Danish National Museum and now rather towards partners in Europe in general and the Arctic in particular. In his conclusion, Director Daniel Thorleifsen sums up the role of NKA as follows:

> The modern Greenlandic nation consists of many different building blocks. The European influence is also a part of this history. Usually, it is through cultural encounters that a given evolution becomes dynamic. The history of Greenland is widely entangled with the histories of many other countries. Here, an Arctic and an international collaboration must be the keyword in NKA's continued strivings to uncover its own origin and presence. (Thorleifsen 2016:324)[53]

In my analysis in Chapter 5, I examine some of the trends that I have observed in NKA's present approach to cultural heritage, to the extent that they relate to my analysis of the space provided for industrialization in contemporary public memories.

Digital returns

Affiliated to the National Museum in Copenhagen, I am continuously working in the museum contact zone, and in Chapter 4 I elaborate further on this methodological perspective and its impact on my analysis. I am hereby, in all modesty, writing my Greenlandic and Danish colleagues and myself into this museum history in the sense that we are active representatives of a trend, that has flourished for at least two decades (Peers and Brown 2003; Brown and Peers 2006), of repatriating archival photographic and film material. This makes room for unusual memory works when relations between people living today and people – sometimes ancestors – long dead may develop. We may see this as a 'second wave' of repatriation, less costly than the repatriation of artefacts, since the original photographs and films usually remains in the donor

[53] My translation from the Danish.

institution, and often also more manageable due to the many available media for the distribution. Another significant development is that claims raised on other than national levels are increasingly gaining recognition, as other agents than the 'patria' – with its museum expertise of preserving objects - can receive digitals copies. With an increased focus on collaboration, sharing, and exchange of knowledge, cultural heritage agents have, in these regards, broadened the scope of what James Clifford (2013) has proposed that we now re-conceptualize as 'digital returns'.

A national museum in a young nation

In the quotation above, Director Thorleifsen states that the Greenlandic nation has a history of genesis which includes a range of encounters with people from other parts of the world; he further states that the 'uncovering' of this history should be the defining project of the museum. His statement reflects the implicit premise that national museums are central in defining the memory of the nation, a point which was powerfully brought forward in 1991 by the historian Benedict Anderson. When Benedict Anderson depicted how nationalism becomes an option through 'imagined communities' of people who seldom meet in person, yet identify and attach importance to each other's existence, he explained that this process of imagining is possible due to 'mass media, the educational system, administrative regulations, and so forth' (Anderson 2006 [1991]:114), together with, as he later added, 'the census, the map, and the museum'(Anderson 2006[1991]:163).

It was the British philosopher and social anthropologist Ernest Gellner (2008 [1983]:19ff) who linked nations and nationalism with transitions from pre-industrial to industrial societies. In industrial societies national identity presents itself as a natural given, in an irresistible convergence of state, population, and culture. However strong the idea of nations has proven on a global scale, over the past century, in Gellner's theory, 'nationalism is not a sentiment expressed by pre-existing nations; rather it creates nations where they did not previously exist' (Breuilly in Gellner 2008:xxv). When we trace such histories of nations retrospectively, we get to understand their particular processes of both accidental events and deliberate strategies of nation-building and thus how modern states create usable pasts and restrict competing efforts when they build common identities upon certain narratives (Wertsch 2002:68; Gellner 2008:118ff).

When a nation is based on an idea of *ethnos*, a common ethnic origin, the national museums must bring to the fore those narratives and symbols that convincingly represent unity within the ethnic community and de-emphasize variation and deviation, both past and present. In contrast, *demos*-based nations, such as the United States and France, base their unity on the common political history of becoming nation states by means of immigration or by unifying different ethnic groups in 'liberty, equality, and fraternity'. Ethnic and cultural diversity are here perceived as a resource in contrast to the ethnos-based quest for a cultural continuum reaching back into 'times immemorial'.

In either case, museums and archives serve as the collective memory of the nation, and they hold a certain privilege in processes of choosing what chapters in history to present, and how; in other words, in functionalizing certain archives while leaving others slumbering in a much larger storage memory (A.Assmann 2011:119ff). I will discuss this dynamic view on archives further in chapter 4, which settles methodological issues. Before concluding this chapter, however, I owe the reader a condensed history of nationalism in Greenland, selective, and even defective, as limited by space here, but referring to sources that may further inform the interested reader.

Nationalism in Greenland

If, as Gellner established, nationalism created nations, rather than the other way round, we may understand any nation better if we observe its present as a point on a timeline, somewhere in between the past and the future, which it builds upon, yet also produces. Greenlandic intellectuals have played a key role in a process where, as Thisted has proposed, 'the Greenlanders were bottle-fed with a Danish nationalism which is based on the idea of the people as an ethnic community with a common descent, language and culture, and a historical affiliation with the territory. The Greenlanders took over the entire package and filled it with the idea of the Greenlandic people.' (Thisted 2014a). If the nationalism of colonized people in other parts of the world was mostly viewed as anti-colonial activities, the Danish colonizers largely facilitated and nurtured Greenlandic nationalism, initially from the perspective that civilizing the Greenlanders meant helping them to climb an evolutionary ladder, whose highest state was the nation, and later as the constitution of a nation state presented itself as the only way to gain true equality and independence. A range of important events in the middle of the 19th century fertilized the soil for crucial societal and cultural developments, promoting the Greenlandic language: teachers' colleges were established in Jakobshavn (Ilulissat) and Godthåb (Nuuk) in 1848; a teacher here, Samuel Kleinsmith, issued a grammar of Greenlandic in 1851 and a Greenlandic-Danish

dictionary in 1871; and in the printing house in Godthåb (Nuuk), established by the director of the Royal Greenland Trading Department Heinrich Rink in 1855, a Greenlandic-language newspaper for distribution, Atuagagdliutit[54], was launched in 1861 (Thuesen 1988:118–9).

The initial national awakening in the early 20th century was driven by pioneers in Greenlandic literature[55], who wrote poetry, psalms, and short stories in Greenlandic (Thuesen 1988:157). Jonathan Petersen and Henrik Lund composed and wrote Greenland's first national anthem, 'Nunarput utoqqarsuanngoravit', meaning 'Our country, which has now grown so old'[56]. With the teacher's college in Godthåb (Nuuk) as a centre, Christian revival and enlightenment aspirations took precedence over national awareness, which biased what separated Greenlanders from Europeans. In the words of the most influential politician of the period, Augo Lynge:

> It was a time of prosperity and many impressions. A laymen's ecclesiastical movement. In Atuagagdliutit, the ancient hunter's time of glory is exalted: seal hunting, the old culture, great hunters being advanced for the youth to take over from. Everybody should learn to sail a kayak. Everybody should catch seals. Only in this way would Greenland prosper. In this Arctic country there was no other way. [57] (Lynge 1957 in Thuesen 1988:157)

Visual artists[58] depicted the exceptional Arctic nature and the particular looks of people in Greenland, the latter, for instance, in the comprehensive photographic works of John Møller (1867–1935), who by his very actions of portraying them through this modern technology inscribed the Greenlanders in modernity (Kleivan 1996). Both of the first two novels written in Greenlandic (Storch 1914; Lynge 1931) happened to be works of political science fiction, which placed Greenlanders as agents in a future world with pride in distinctive Greenlandic customs and characters, while at the same time mirroring a contemporary European model of society.

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[54] The newspaper still exists today; in a merger with another news outlet in 1952 it was renamed *AG*, or *Atuagagdliutit/Grønlandsposten*.
[55] Henrik Lund, Jonathan Petersen, Josva Kleist, Augo Lynge, and others (Thuesen 1988:157).
[56] Henrik Lund also wrote the poem that is now the text of a second Greenlandic national anthem, *Nuna assîlasôq*' (*The extensive country, translated from Danish, Det udstrakte land).*
[57] My translation from Danish.
[58] Stephen Møller (1882–1909), Niels Lynge (1880–1962), Emmanuel E. Petersen(1894–1948), and others.

During the Second World War, the contact between Greenland and its southern colonizer was suspended. The Americans now supplied the country with modern goods and technology, and people in Greenland had a new experience: they could manage without the Danish administration. In 1942, KNR transmitted the first Greenlandic radio news. The former dean of the University of Greenland Robert Petersen recalled in a recent TV documentary: 'Now we received news about the war in North Africa, in the Soviet Union, and other places. Greenlandic skippers sailed from town to town, absorbing and diffusing news along the coast. We began to get an experience of Greenland as one nation.'[59] (Robert Petersen in Breum 2016). This new consciousness did not lead to confrontations when Denmark and Greenland were reunited after the war. As described above, the reunification was celebrated across the Atlantic but still, shortly after the war Greenlanders voted to become a Danish county, and the newly acquired constitutional equality led to another wave of Greenlandic nationalism. Arts and literature[60] from this period reflect a need for new landmarks to help people navigate under these rapid social and cultural changes. In new and often rather romanticized versions of the past, the gaze again turned to the hunting culture.

'Erfalasorput' – our flag

With the preparations for Home Rule in 1979, the question of a Greenlandic flag became relevant. Kleivan has demonstrated how the rather late appearance of this quest was a product of an outspoken loyalty towards the Danish flag, which until then had been perceived as belonging to the Greenlanders as much as to the Danes, and during some periods even used more frequently in Greenland (Kleivan 1988:34)[61]. Consequentially, the debates about a new flag in connection with Home Rule were vivid and engaged, and far from concluded when Home Rule became a reality and was celebrated 'amidst a forest of Dannebrogs'[62] (Kleivan 1988:41) on 1 May 1979. Later the same year, a member of Greenland's Provincial Council, Steenholdt, quoted from a

[59] My translation from Danish.
[60] See, for instance, Rosing (2005 [1955]) and other novels by Otto Sandgreen, Villads Villadsen, Ole Brandt, Frederik Nielsen, and others.
[61] A contemporary parallel is the loyalty shown towards the Danish Royal House, which, in return, has for generations literally remained in touch with large swathes of the Greenlandic population through frequent visits and an ardent interest in the country and its people.
[62] Dannebrog is the Danish national flag.

nationalist poem written during the war: 'The red – that is our Greenlandic blood. The white – that is our Greenlandic country and what belongs to it: ice and snow' (Steenholdt in Kleivan 1988:41), and this preference for the colours of the Danish flag came to resonate creatively in the half-moons of the new 'Erfalasorput' that, by vote, became the official flag when Greenland celebrated its first National Day on 21 June 1985.

The introduction of self-government on the same date, 24 years later, in 2009, led to a renewed wave of nationalism, the repercussions of which are forming the context for my analysis. Greenland today has a range of those institutions that we normally associate with a nation, supporting and co-producing a form of nationalism that now takes many different shapes and works on many different levels. Still, as a relatively young nation with a relatively small economy, requests for new national institutions are sometimes brought forward. Strong voices have in recent years been advocating for a national art museum, which in 2010-11 was brought so far as to an architectural competition. Eventually, the plan was withdrawn in favour of a natural history museum (Persson 2016) and a Greenlandic Film Institute, yet neither of these has yet materialized.

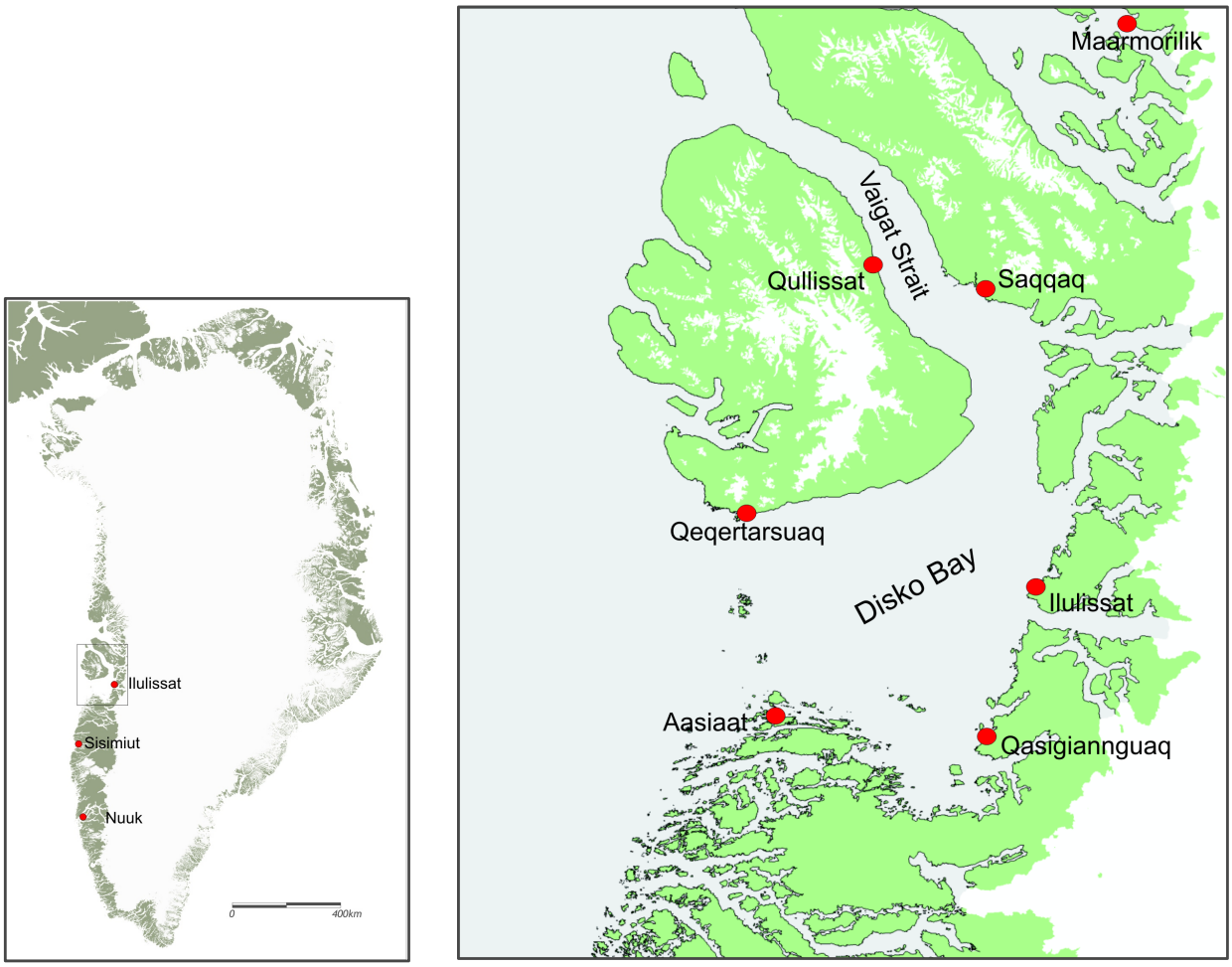
2.d. Industrialization in the Disko Bay area

The core geographical region for my fieldwork has been the Disko Bay area, where hunting was a main occupation until around 1960 when the industrial shrimp fisheries expanded explosively and became an engine for development in the region. Being the home of quite a few former miners as well, this region offered good opportunities for exploring how diverse groups and individuals remembered the immense changes in social organization with the transition from a mainly hunting-based to a more industrialized society. I conducted film screenings and interviews in the towns of Qeqertarsuaq, Qasigiannguit, and Sisimiut[63] and more comprehensive fieldwork in Ilulissat.

[63] Sisimiut is not situated in the Disko Bay area but some 150 km further south. In my pilot fieldwork, I went there but later chose the Disko Bay area and especially Ilulissat as the setting for my main fieldwork. Being an open-water city offers a different kind of access to resources, and this in combination with the particular self-awareness characterizing the people of Sisimiut makes it an interesting case for comparison. At the same time, fishing is not a single-site occupation, and quite a few of my informants in Qasigiannguit had peeled shrimps from Sisimiut trawlers or worked on one of the trawlers.

The Disko Bay has in recent decades attracted the attention of the world, and many world leaders have visited the area in order to see what is considered proof of global climate changes: the immense glaciers, continuously calving icebergs, which then float out into the bay in thousands of spectacular shapes. The scenery is ever-changing and always breath-taking, providing the growing number of tourists with unparalleled nature experiences. For the people living in the area, the bay, which is shielded towards the Atlantic by the 8,578-km^2 Disko Island, is a conduit for transportation and a rich source of shrimps, seals, whales, halibut and other fish well beyond the needs for local consumption. In 2001, 70% (about DKK 1.3 billion) of Greenland's export revenues came from the shrimp fisheries, the main part caught in the Disko Bay area (Pedersen 2005:72). Investigations for extractive resources have repeatedly reported large mineral and fossil deposits in areas off the mainland shore. Significant mining operations went on for decades in Qullissat and later also some 100 km further north, at Maarmorilik/the Black Angel,[64] and the future most likely holds additional projects.

[64] See Chapter 7.



Maps of the Disko Bay area and its location in Greenland[65].

Ilulissat, Qasigiannguit, and Qeqertarsuaq

Ilulissat is the main city in the area and in Greenland's most northern municipality,[66] Qaasuitsup Kommunia. It is situated some 250 km north of the polar circle. In 2013, Ilulissat had a population of 4,541 people (Qaasuitsup Kommunia 2016). It was founded as one of the very first Danish trading posts, Jakobshavn, in 1742 and became a colony in 1782. Commercial fisheries began in Ilulissat as early as the late 19th century (Hamilton, Brown, and Rasmussen 2003:276), but it was only with the discovery of large shrimp banks in the Davis Strait that the city really began to grow. Since the 1920s, the open-water cities had based their fisheries on landings of

[65] ©Bjarne Grønnow, National Museum of Denmark.

[66] Qaasuitsup Kommunia stretches from just north of the polar circle and up to about 81 degrees north. It is the world's largest municipality, with a coastline of more than 1,600 km, and it covers an area larger than France (660,000 km^2). Most of this area is covered by the ice cap (Qaasuitsup Kommunia 2016).

cod and Atlantic halibut[67]. However, the diffusion of species is in constant flux, and in the mid 1930s, overfishing by European long-liners caused an end to the landings of the large Atlantic halibut, just as later, from the 1950s to the 1970s, the formerly rich presence of codfish decreased due to lower sea temperatures and, again, overfishing.

Hamilton, Brown, and Rasmussen (2003) have convincingly demonstrated how the success of a given city depends on complex interactions among physical, biological, and social systems. After the discovery in 1948–50 by the inspection vessel Adolf Jensen of large shrimp banks in the Disko Bay, the fishing for shrimp and, to a lesser extent, for Greenlandic halibut[68] now intensified in the area (Hamilton, Brown, and Rasmussen 2003:276–7). RGTD [69] built factories in the ice fiord towns of Qasigiannguit (1952) and Ilulissat (1961)[70] and refurbished the factory from 1934 in Qeqertarsuaq. Qasigiannguit now became the main trading centre for shrimp. During the summers in the 1960s, more than 50 fishing cutters from the entire area would offload their catch here, and the shrimp factory called in large numbers of seasonal workers. The general population grew and reached a peak around 1400 inhabitants in the early 1970s. Then, during the 1980s and 90s, a decline in the shrimp population and a growing number of large open-water vessels, which processed the shrimps on board, began to threaten the basis for the shrimp factory, and in 1999 the Home Rule administration decided to move the entire shrimp production to facilities in Ilulissat and Aasiat. Although a new factory for processing halibut has since been established in Qasigiannguit, the changes have led to a marked decline in the population, which is now below 1,000.

In Ilulissat, the largest factory on the harbour, Royal Greenland, processes 120 tons of shrimps and 20 tons of fish per day and employs around 100 people. On the other side of the harbour, a private cooperative, Halibut Greenland, was established in 2008 by about a hundred local fishermen who wanted their fish processed in facilities independent of the then state monopoly of Royal Greenland, which was owned by the Self-Government administration[71]. Ilulissat has

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[67] 'Hippoglossus hippoglossus'. Danish: Helleflynder.(Hamilton, Brown, and Rasmussen 2003:276)
[68] 'Reinhardtius hippoglossoides'. Danish: Hellefisk.(Hamilton, Brown, and Rasmussen 2003:276)
[69] RGTD = The Royal Greenlandic Trade Department = Danish: KGH (Kongelige Grønlandske Handel).
[70] Source: http://www.royalgreenland.gl/da/Fiskeri/Fabrikker and http://www.royalgreenland.com/da/royal-greenland/vores-lokationer/vores-produktionsfaciliteter
[71] Source : http://www.halibut.gl/en-gb/aboutus.aspx

since the 1970s been known for its ice fiord fisheries where fishermen crossed the sea ice on dog sledges to drag up halibut on up to several-hundred-meters-long lines. Today, only a handful of fishermen continue this practice. It used to be a saying that there were more dogs than human beings living in Ilulissat,[72] but today the town has a human population of around 5,000, and only 1,200 dogs are left. The howling of the dogs is still a characteristic feature, but few dogs are allowed in the oldest parts of the city facing the ice fiord. The fiord rarely freezes over nowadays, and most people only have dogs for the pleasure of it. Owning dogs has become expensive and difficult, because most dogs have been moved out behind the housing blocks at the edge of the city, and also because one now has to buy fodder in one of the grocery stores, Pisiffik, Spar or Center Marked, while until just a few years ago, Royal Greenland would sell waste products such as fish bones, tails, and heads to the dog owners. Today, nothing is wasted but processed and exported either to European, Japanese or Chinese consumers (Nuttall 2012b).

The always lively sports centre and adjacent culture house Sermermiut, one of the two public schools,[73] and the biggest housing blocks are testimony to the fact that the bulk of the city's building stock was constructed during the 1970s. A three-storey housing complex was built in 1972 to house the Qullissarmiut,[74] who moved here in great numbers in the 1970s. The complex figured in a 1998 film[75] as the home of a family with heavy social problems, including violence and abuse. The protagonist in the film was played by the beloved singer-song-writer Rasmus Lyberth, who shortly after I completed my fieldwork was due to give a concert a few hundred meters from the complex, in the culture house Sermermiut.

Ilulissat has two museums, Ilulissat Museum, in what was originally, from 1848, a teaching college, but from 1875 a rectory and the childhood home of polar explorer Knud Rasmussen (1879–1933), and Ilulissat Art Museum, which is located in the original residence of the factor from 1767. In the 1980s, Ilulissat Museum also had a separate building for hunting and fishing

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[72] Tourist agencies still cherish the image of a dog sledding population when branding the city and heavily overestimate the number of dogs. Examples may be seen on: www.topas.dk/pages/Fakta-om-Ilulissat.html, www.diskoline.dk/da/destination/Ilulissat, http://www.touristnature.com/Dansk/Inuit_Culture.htm.

[73] The other, Atuarfik Mathias Storch, was demolished in 2013 due to mould fungus contamination, and new buildings are currently under construction.

[74] People from the mining city of Qullissat.

[75] 'Lysets Hjerte' (Grønlykke 1998).

artefacts in an old colonial building, but today this annex works as a cold store (Thorleifsen 2016:269–272; Voigt Andersen 1991). A visitor's centre will in the coming years be constructed in the outskirts of the city, on the rim of the ice fiord.

Ilulissat means 'icebergs'. The city is located at the mouth of a spectacular ice fiord, at the bottom of which a hugely productive glacier calves icebergs amounting to billions of tonnes every year. The icebergs float into the Disko Bay, passing Ilulissat, from where one can admire the monstrous shapes sliding majestically past in ever-changing colours and formations. With this UNESCO world heritage site in its backyard, Ilulissat attracts thousands of tourists every summer, and there is widespread consensus that the number could multiply further, if facilities and infrastructure were upgraded. On several occasions, the city has welcomed heads of state and other high-ranking officials, including the United Nations' Secretary General, Ban Ki Moon, Secretary of State John Kerry of the United States, and EU president Donald Tusk. In global discourses, the calving glacier has become the primary symbol of climate change. Among my informants, several had had the experience of singing for these VIP visitors as members of local choirs, dressed in national garb, with the ice fiord and a sled dog in the background.

A five-hour boat trip (weather and ice conditions permitting!) into the Disko Bay, on the southern side of the Disko Island, Qeqertarsuaq today attracts less attention. The town was founded by a Danish whaler in 1773, and from 1911 to 1950, it was the 'capital of Northern Greenland', the seat of one of Greenland's two Provincial Councils. Today, the local museum is housed in the building where the Council meetings took place, and its exhibitions, arranged in the light and charming rooms tell a number of stories, one of them drawing a picture of the heyday of the town. Today, Royal Greenland runs a fish factory, and Polar Seafood, co-owned by a local trawler fisher- and businessman, have left its beneficent marks on the town, both in the form of workplaces and in charity initiatives, such as, in 2014, Greenland's first soccer field with artificial grass.

Mining in the Disko Bay area

In the towns of Qeqertarsuaq, Qasigiannguit, and Ilulissat, I had rich opportunity to associate with former workers from the fishing industry and the mines. Rich in resources, the area draws on an ocean of fish and mammals and a shoreline rich in coal, minerals, and metals (Secher 2004:64; Sejersen 2014:43 ff). In Arctic fisheries, there has always been a dynamic interplay between settlement patterns and living conditions, conditioned by biological fluctuations and

political decisions, external pricing developments, and technological developments. Activities in the mining sector are determined by similar interactions, yet the production conditions differ, because the resources here are constant, and their extraction depends on political, far-reaching business decisions, and a degree of expertise that necessitates a highly international and increasingly mobile workforce. In other words, mining on any significant scale is by definition industrial, whereas the same is not necessarily true of fishing.

As outlined above, mining in the area dates back to prehistoric times, whereas in historical times, the commercial extraction of coal began at Qaarsuarsuk on Disko Island in 1782. Later, a mine was established which remained in operation until 1924, when almost all its workers moved to the location where the Qullissat mine was now established and functioned for almost 50 years. Less than 50 km further north, on the northern side of the Nuusuuaq peninsula, the Maarmorilik quarry was established in 1936; from here, 3–4,000 tons of marble were produced and exported for construction purposes in Denmark. Around 40 workers, almost all Greenlanders, were employed here until the mine closed when the war broke out in 1940. From the mid 1960s, a private Danish company continued the marble production until 1973 when the multinationally owned company Greenex acquired the concession for extracting zinc, lead, and silver here. Greenex established a mine, which operated efficiently until 1990 (Sejersen 2014:47).

The interests of the mining sector and the local fishermen and hunters may clash, and on a global scale, they often do (Avango and Hacquebord 2013). That was the case when *the Black Angel* quarry was being established, as Greenex sailed large cargo ships loaded with ore into the Uummannaq Fjord without informing the local hunters (Dahl 1977), and spillage later contaminated parts of their fishing grounds. Later, Greenex managed to keep track of their waste. As the local community also profited from the taxes and the workplaces in the mine, local attitudes gradually changed, and when the mine finally closed in 1990, the closure was met with local regret, at least by the authorities and the people who had been employed there (Lodberg 1990:123).

2.e. Conclusion

I have in this chapter traced a history of industrial developments in the Disko Bay area and in Greenland. I have provided a perspective into the general political and cultural history of Greenland and in one of the chapter's three sections focused specifically on the Greenlandic museums and archives and their role as professional communicators and producers of history.

My anthropological analysis will unfold towards these historical contexts, but first, I now proceed to the conceptual framework for my analysis.

Chapter 3. Conceptualizing Memory as Moving Archives

How do people in Greenland remember industrialization? How do they remember their own roles and their room for agency in these decades of seminal socio-cultural changes? What spaces do the memories of industrialization occupy, and by means of what narratives and visuals are they most frequently mediated today? Studying memory is an empirical project, and the production of knowledge in my project is by nature a kind of history writing. At the same time, it contributes theoretically to the field of memory studies as I argue that memory practices and emotional practices are inexorably linked, mutually enforcing each other, and hereby potentially executing strong agencies. In this chapter I outline and discuss the key theoretical concepts on which I will base this central argument and my analysis.

In Greenland – as elsewhere – collective memory is an important factor in heated political debates, as a point of departure for internal or inter-state tensions; in other places, outside Greenland, it has even played a role in military confrontations. Memory is used for motivating, legitimizing, justifying, inciting or reconciling tensions and conflicts. Although memory presents itself as belonging to the past, it owes its validity to the role it plays in the present. Memory scholars and anthropologists (for instance A.Assmann 2011[1999]; Bartlett 1995; Eriksen 1996; Lowenthal 2005) generally agree that memory concerns the management of the past in the present, even pointing towards possible futures[76], and, I will argue, memory therefore often comprise a strong aspect of agency. Obviously so when it, powerfully and politically, shares its prophetic aspirations in public, and potentially so even when it is confined to a private sphere, as it may later be externalized and shared in public.

The interplay between collective memory and history writing is crucial in these years, as increasing independence is high on the agenda in Greenland, and the representation of the past in the present is a topic of particular attention. History books on Greenland mainly focus on political and collective processes, decisive agreements, extraordinary events and general

[76] This conception of the role of the past and the future in the present resonnates across times, spaces and cultural communities, for instance in the Inuit concept of traditional knowledge, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) (Koivurova, Keskitalo, and Bankes 2009:12,339) and in the Ghanaian symbol Sankofa, a bird turning its head backwards to take an egg off its own back, symbolizing the proverb 'Go back and fetch what you forgot' (Jørgensen 2001).

developments. An underlying criterion for evaluating a history book is its representativeness; in my anthropological project, I substitute this with an interest in the multiplicity and variation in specific empirical memories. I thus study the transition to industrial ways of working in order to cast light upon just how and to what extent people experienced room for agency. I soon realized that this was a question that cannot be answered through existing written sources. Rich collections of local memories have been published (see e.g. Hansen 1977; Littauer and Thisted 2002; Rasmussen and Moltke 1905; Rasmussen 1921) documenting 'traditional' or 'disappearing' lifestyles, but these did only sporadically address the phenomenon of industrialization. I realized that an effective study of perceptions of local agency during these decisive years of industrialization would have to include a renewed collection of memories through fieldwork.

3.a. Analytical framework: memory, agency and emotion

My approach to the study of memory is practice-based and social constructivist, and thus, I seek to develop a perspective on what memory does rather than what it is. Throughout this project I have become increasingly aware of the close associations that exist between memory, agency and emotion. Emotions support memories that, in turn, move us so much more in cases where strong emotions are attached to them. Memory practices may be strong, articulated, public and have an impact on many people's lives, or they may take the shape of just a few fleeting images passing in a single person's imagination. The first kinds of memories may be the easiest to observe, but in my fieldworks I have strived to pay attention both to what anthropologist Sherry Ortner has termed 'soft' versions of agency, where the agent is bound by the social context to a high degree, and 'strong' versions, in which the agent exercises a strong capacity to define one's own life, including installing changes according to her ambitions and desires. Ortner has proposed that we observe various forms of agency as points on a scale with 'soft' agency, that is, a low level of intentionality, at one end and 'hard' agency at the other (Ortner 2006:134). One of the most significant capacities of strong memories is to create and enhance group loyalties because we largely identify with those with whom we imagine to share memories (Wetherell 2012; Scheer 2012; J.Assmann 2006). Another capacity is to set public agendas and yet other capacities exist, as my analysis in the succeeding chapters will demonstrate.

All over Greenland, people are active media consumers and collective memories play an important role in people's memory practices. The past 'is alive' and moves people through the narratives and images offered to the them by a variety of media (Dijck 2007; Wertsch 2002;

Wertsch 2009). I find it productive to perceive collective memory both as practice (Connerton 1989) and as discourse (Foucault 2010 [1972]:37; Jørgensen and Phillips 2002), and I thus include a power perspective in my observations of how a range of different media segregate, confirm, revise, ignore, discard or share people's memories, and how they, dialectically, affect the memories of the individual (Dijck 2007). As noted by van Dijck, 'To properly understand their own existence in the grand scheme of historical events, people continuously sharpen their own remembered experience and the testimonies of others against available public versions – official documents, exhibits, text books, and so forth' (Dijck 2007:10). Cultural memories take shape in such processes of negotiations or struggles to define individuality and collectivity.

I will discuss the implications of these analytical points of departure below and relate them to my main argument in this dissertation: that memory and emotion are mutually enforcing practices potentially executing strong agencies. If the majority of Greenlanders have largely been attributed a role as passive objects of history during the periods of intense industrial development, they were still agents, at least in the sense that they have a memory of these events, and these memories may have an agentive force today. Even if people remember being 'spectators' in certain domains, for instance at the political level, might they not still remember their own roles as different in other domains? And even if this is the sort of agency that we term 'soft', might it not still have a potential to transform into 'harder' forms?

I will now develop my theoretical memory perspective by explaining and discussing the relations between, first, memory practices and agency, next, between practices of emotion and memory, and finally, between the mediation of memories in narratives, still and moving images. In conclusion, I discuss the relation between memory and history, which is often termed as an opposition, although I will argue that we may rather see the two forms as tendencies, operating in a state of mutual tension.

3.b. Memory as agency

Fabian has emphasized that cognitive processes of remembering are by definition selective and hence inherently involve a question of agency. Consequently, he contends, 'in socio-cultural and historical studies of memory we would have to identify agency, that is, practices of selection' (Fabian 2007:97). Writing history obviously presupposes agency, but so do many other memory practices, such as speaking and singing, recording, keeping, showing or screening films and photographs. Some acts are mediated in films, books, exhibitions or music, and here, the person

who remembers has the capacity to select and define the role of the past in the present and may thus exercise a powerful form of agency. Still, most importantly, her agency is restricted, as the mediated memories that testify to past events in photo albums, in frames on the walls of private homes, on radio or TV, on Facebook or in museums never stem from her alone but are always discursively produced, maybe by others, and when produced by her, always passing through her internalized 'filter' of collective cultural concepts and schemes. 'The agent is never free', as Ortner (2006:130) points out.

So, what is agency? It is clearly not a thing in itself but always part of a process of making or reproducing social and cultural formations. It is only observable through action, in process. Is it then a capacity, an emotion, a state of mind or perhaps a skill? It may involve all of these but they are all only part of an answer. In Western societies we view agency as an ambition, an ideal or even a defining aspect of humanity. It is, however, crucial not to disregard those who caution against the ethnocentricity of associating agency with the Western concept of a rational individual. Strong agency may be exercised in more collectively oriented societies, and it may be that it is exactly through the agency of the collective that change is set in motion. It may also be that neither the collective nor the individual articulates or even realizes the agency that it, he or she exercises. When we seek to identify memory as practices of selection, as Fabian recommends, we must therefore make sure not to neglect those selective processes that are reproductive, iterative or collective. In history writing, we tend to focus on innovation and find it less interesting to report on the years and years of reproducing society more or less as it is. We therefore tend to ignore that the continual conveyance and sustainment of memory also require agency, even if it is agency of another kind.

The question of rational consciousness may be contrasted with the figure of a princess in a fairy tale by the brothers Grimm. Anthropologist Sherry Ortner has brought forward how numerous of their fairy tales textually constructed the princess in her coming of age as a 'victim hero', whose role in her own passage from childhood to adulthood is to suffer and to be acted upon, in contrast to the boy hero who must enact agency by 'solving a problem, finding a lost object, slaying the dragon, rescuing the damsel in distress' (Ortner 2006:141). The most important thing for the princess is to remain passive and thus ready for his project of rescuing her, so that he may become a hero. 'Passivity involves not simply refraining from pursuing projects, but refraining in a sense from even desiring to do so' (op.cit.), Ortner notes. If the soft kind of agency executed here appears to be as close to passivity as one can get, we may still acknowledge that the 'victim

heroine's' reproduction of existing social rules is also a form of agency. We may like to think that such minimal forms of agency belongs to victims of oppressive totalitarian regimes, and in my analysis in chapter 8, I link this stance to a Greenlandic context and question whether, according to my informants' memories, the colonial regime necessarily reflected in strict social bonds at a local level. As Ortner has proposed, ethnography may have the capacity to deal with 'a contrast between the workings of agency within massive power relations, like colonialism or racism, as opposed to the workings of agency in contexts in which such relations can be – however momentarily, however partially – held at bay.' (Ortner 2006:143).

It takes a huge span to embrace the full diversity of agency. In the introductory lines to this chapter I discriminate between 'soft' and 'hard' versions of agency (2006:134) defined by Ortner according to the intentionality engaged in people's practices. I have further, as my analysis progressed, found a differentiation offered by Emirbayer and Mische (1998:971ff)[77], expedient. They differentiate betweeen 1) *the iterational element;* which is agency through the reactivation of past patterns of thought and action as routinely incorporated in practical activity. This likens the form of Ortner's 'soft' agency and emphasizes stability and reproduction; 2) *the projective element;* in which agency consists in possible future trajectories of action that may be creatively reconfigured in relation to hopes, fears and desires for the future. Here resonates Ortner's 'hard' agency and it demands a capacity for imagination; and, finally, 3) *the practical-evaluative element;* which is agency through a practical and normative approach based on emerging demands, dilemmas and ambiguities of presently evolving situations. In her conceptualization of agency Ortner seems to miss this last element. During my analysis I came to see such pragmatic orientations as prevalent among a group of my informants and I will in chapter 8 discuss to what extent Ortner's and Emirbayer and Mische's, respectively, conceptualizations of agency may be useful for understanding my informants' memories of industrialization and their own roles and possibilities therein.

Emirbayer and Mische's model stresses the significant temporal aspect of agency. The three elements reflect orientations towards the past, the future and the present, respectively. The

[77] I am here inspired by Sejersen (2015:51).

interdependency between these is creatively explored in arts[78] and design where agency is most clearly articulated. Here the aspect of historicity 'establishes both a motivation for change and evokes the agentive identities that can act to achieve the desired changes' (Otto 2015:58), and design anthropologists have in recent years exploited this to contribute in developing design processes. Otto points out that 'Whilst there is no doubt that design in its modern form has emerged as an aspect of industrialized societies, it is useful to widen the definition of design to capture the aspect of intentional cultural and material change across societies in time and space' (Otto 2015:58).

Studying people's memories of agency, as I have done, is a remarkable dance on a timeline. In the present, people account their retrospective stories about how they remember their own agency in the past, in other words, how they look back upon their own capabilities of looking forward, to imagination and anticipation. My analysis is only slightly concerned with whether my informants in fact executed agency or not; instead, my emphasis is on how they remember having this capability or not because this matters to their self-perceptions in the present. They constitute the first lines in their narratives of self and thereby set a frame for the rest: the experience of today and the imagination of the future. Whether those futures were envisioned as more or less agentive is therefore a key aspect of my main research question.

3.c. Memory as practice

The agent who remembers is always a product of specific cultural contexts, historical circumstances and memory practices. I perceive the acting subject as someone who does not exist prior to her own execution of practice. In other words, 'a single subject "is" (essentially) – even in his or her "inner" processes of reflection, feeling, remembering, planning, etc. – the sequence of acts in which he or she participates in social practices in his or her everyday life' (Reckwitz in Scheer 2012:200). Our acts include habituated and automatically executed movements of the body, willful and intentional doings as well as less conscious actions. Most notably, our acts are culturally specific, learned embodiments of the cultural context. Scheer specifies that 'Depending on where and when we live, we learn to keep our thoughts and feelings

[78] In a presentation at Copenhagen Main Library on 14 November 2016, the British musician and sound artist Brian Eno explained how this was generally the case for him as an artist and a specific intention with his album 'Music for Airports' (1978).

to ourselves (or not), to listen to our hearts (or our heads), to be "true to ourselves" and to know what we want. These are not universal features of subjectivity' (Scheer 2012:200).

Memories are transmitted to us as bodily practices. Anthropologist Paul Connerton has developed a widely recognized theory of 'how societies remember' as transmissions of commemorative and bodily practices that take place on a day-to-day level through incorporating as well as inscribing practices (Connerton 2006 [1989]). Incorporating practices refer to the ways in which a person, through interactions with others, adapts similar bodily activities and similar bodily responses to similar impulses. Postures become confined by conventions in the society one is a part of, and while they may differ, for instance according to gender, power or rank, they are still interpreted within the same system of bodily encoding and decoding and thus belong to the same social order (Connerton 2006 [1989]:73)[79]. Inscribing practices take place when people store and retrieve information through the use of modern devices, such as print, encyclopaedias, computers, photographs etc. (Connerton 2006[1989]:73).

Such negotiations within the individual of social conditions and of the past and the present is what Bourdieu has termed the individual's habitus (Bourdieu 1990a:52ff):

> The habitus – embodied history, internalized as a second nature and a forgotten history – is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product. As such, it is what gives practices their relative autonomy with respects to external determinations of the immediate present. This autonomy is that of the past, enacted and acting, which, functioning as accumulated capital, produces history on the basis of history and so ensure the permanence in change that makes the individual agent a world within the world (Bourdieu 1990a:56)

The widespread application since the 1980s of the concept of habitus has encountered criticism that its confinement by time and social conditions causes it to fail to explain how changes may take place, or even that it eliminates room for innovation. I partly agree with the former point but

[79] One may interpret a current preoccupation on the part of the National Museum in Nuuk with defining and documenting immaterial cultural heritage in this light; a point that I shall return to in my analysis in Chapter 4.

strongly object to the latter: the space for historical rupture as well as for less dramatic, incremental changes in social practices is largely provided for in the recognition of profusions of practices which intermingle, correlate, co-exist and sometimes clash. Few people live through an entire life without ever experiencing friction with their environment for some period of time, in one respect or another, and friction often leads to change. I agree with Scheer when she argues that 'The plurality of practices suffices to explain historical changes and shifts, because they collide with one another, causing misunderstandings, conflicts, and crossovers between fields' (Scheer 2012:204).

It has by now become clear that aspects of temporality and intentionality are central to the study of agency in memory practices (Hastrup 2005:7; Otto 2015; Sejersen 2015:51), and so is the relation between the individual and the collective. These tensions form central axes throughout my analysis, the latter not least, in my discussion of the relationship between memory and emotion.

3.d. Memory as emotion

Writing this dissertation has made me acknowledge, increasingly, that a theory of memory must necessarily also include a theory of emotion. Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), like Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), was one of the early writers to highlight this connection between emotions and memory: 'Only something that continues to hurt remains in the memory,' Nietzsche (in J. Assmann 2006:5) claimed. To him, collective memory was 'bonding memory' that promoted the cohesiveness of groups, and the stronger the emotions associated with the memory, the stronger the group bond, he argued. In particular, he was intrigued by the special ability of religions to create bonding memory when people shared the feeling of pain by relating to the same religious symbols, and on this basis he comprehended religions as 'systems of cruelty' (J. Assmann 2006:5).

Another prominent memory scholar, Maurice Halbwachs (1877–1945) has explained that it is only through social interaction that we are able to remember at all, because our cognition relies on socially constituted categories. This is just the opposite perspective of Nietzsche's claim that when we share memories with others, we tend to feel a sense of community with them and thus develop a group bond (J.Assmann 2006:2ff). We may equally say that when we share emotions with others, we tend to feel a sense of community with them. In this regard, groups are constituted from the inside out, but they might as well be constructed from the outside in when

somebody attributes certain emotions to certain people and thus segregates them as a consistent group in a process of 'othering' 'them' in opposition to 'us'. This phenomenon may take a negative course, as exemplified with such devastating effect during the apartheid era in South Africa, when a dominant white minority felt entitled to discriminate against the majority on the basis of emotions such as superiority, disgust and hatred. It may also take a positive course, for example, when the feelings in play are love, admiration or joy. For instance, Professor of Social Psychology Margaret Wetherell describes how a politician referring to feelings that he assumes to share with a group of listeners rhetorically constitutes an 'emotional community', the good of which he promises to promote (Wetherell 2012:8 see also Ahmed 2004a:2). In both cases, the people one imagines to share emotions with may not be people one knows personally, and group identities are imposed on an imagined community from the outside (Anderson 2006).

In many cases, once imagined, feelings stick, in the sense that many people relate the same feeling to a given body, group or thing. For instance, passivity is one association that has often stuck to people from Greenland, as I will discuss later in this chapter, based on examples offered by literary scholar Kirsten Thisted (2014a; 2014b). Ahmed notes that etymologically, 'passion' and 'passive' have a shared root in the Latin word for suffering (passio). Being passionate, one suffers while striving to achieve something, whereas, being passive, one suffers by not striving. When one is not in control, one is seen as weak and emotional and thus becomes vulnerable to being acted upon by those in power. Abstaining from revealing emotions has been used as a strategy by many Greenlanders encountering foreigners[80] and, at least to some extent, such veiling of emotions must have served to defend people's integrity, although it certainly did not prevent the Danes from assuming political and economic power over physical and social spaces. Here, again, passivity was interpreted as weakness.

A group, as well as a person, a thing, or even immaterial phenomena may in this regard become associated *with* as well as *by* a given emotion. The Greenlandic flag, 'Erfalasorput', may for instance cause a person from Greenland to straighten her back, when she sees the flag waving in the wind, feeling proud of the autonomy that has been achieved during recent decades.

[80] As Briggs (1970) has convincingly demonstrated, it has been a strategy also among Inuit as individuals in groups too keep aggression and tension to a level that did not destroy the small and internally interdependent domestic units.

Contemporary Greenlandic designers frequently use the red and white colours of the flag, perhaps because there is a sense of pride sticking to it, which is assumed to appeal to the target group. In such processes, not only the object itself, but also its surroundings may be associated with a certain emotion. If, for instance, a present is perceived as a 'happy object', not only the present and the donor but perhaps also the place of donation may appear 'happy by association' and 'To experience an object as being affective or sensational is to be directed not only toward an object, but to 'whatever' is around that object, which includes what is behind the object, the conditions of its arrival' (Ahmed 2010:33).

Etymologically, the Latin root of 'emotion', 'emovere', means 'to move' or 'to move out' (Ahmed 2004a:11). Emotions are, thus, about movement and also about attachments. Certain things trigger positive feelings and thus cause us to direct our attention or even move towards them, while things associated with anger or disgust may trigger an impulse to move away. No object is good or bad in itself, but we tend to judge it as one or the other based entirely on the emotional effect the object has on us. In order to ascribe a certain emotion to the object, we evaluate and judge it, at times analytically and at other times based on intuitive impulses. In the words of Ahmed (Ahmed 2004b), we may here perceive emotions as being affective. They appear in the contact with an object, and the experienced affect decides what emotion the person is going to attach to the object. In this sense, emotions are produced as an effect of a circulation between other subjects and objects. Hence, focus is on what emotions do rather than what they are. Nevertheless, to Ahmed, emotions may be conceived as a kind of capital which in 'affective economies' circulates between bodies and 'create the very effect of the surfaces or boundaries of bodies and worlds' (Ahmed 2004b:117). I find Ahmed's model appealing but still insist, as a consequence of my practice-based approach, that it is the human being who feels and who is thus also the acting subject. Emotions must therefore be observed through practice and it must take place in a dual perspective as 'emotions are something people experience and something they do. We *have* emotions and we *manifest* emotion' (Scheer 2012:195). Through anthropological observation we are enabled to analyse the processes in which the human agent, either individually or as a member of a group, directs her emotions towards an object. This could be, for instance, an orientation towards a memory, in which case it becomes crucial to describe how various emotions mutually affect one another in interplays between the individual and the cultural context. In the words of Scheer 'what needs to be emphasized is the mutual embeddedness of minds, bodies and social relations in order to historicize the body and its contributions to the learned experience of emotion' (Scheer 2012:199).

3.e. Emotions and ruptures

Memory and emotion are entangled practices that mutually enforce, support and produce each other. On the one hand, memories are externalized through processes involving emotion (Scheer 2012; Ahmed 2004a; 2004b; 2010; Wetherell 2012), and on the other hand, people are emotionally moved by mediated memories (Dijck 2007). Building on discourse theory (see for instance Jørgensen and Phillips 2002) the theorists of affect and emotion mentioned here demonstrate how emotion may support the reproduction of discourses, while I will paraphrase Scheer's argument a few pages before this and say that a plurality of emotional practices may also hold a potential for change. I am going to argue, that due to their emotional force, memories may in this regard offer a room for agency. It may be less spectacular than the agency exercised by identifiable and celebrated politicians, but nevertheless such agency of 'ordinary people' may prove to be no less powerful. In this regard we may perceive memory practices as agentive and highly significant first, on the local level, but potentially also in changing political discourses. These years social memory is increasingly becoming an important arena for expressing political agendas, and often a field of contests between divergent positions, if not outright conflict. Here, to a wide extent, the dynamic aspects of social memory unfold, and, as noted in the introductory lines to this chapter, I propose that we may better understand these if we pay attention to the agencies in the entangled and mutually enforcing practices of emotion and memory.

We may counterpose the conservative aspects of practice theory with the phenomenon of 'post-memories' introduced by professor of English and comparative literature Marianne Hirsch. The troublesome aspects of transitions to industrialized ways of living in Greenland have often been described as collective traumas, characterized by ruptures in the intergenerational transfers of tradition. Marianne Hirsch proposes the concept of post-memory to describe the situation when generations that have lived through the events of war or crisis begin to forget, repress or modify their accounts of these events and thus transfer inexpedient behavioural patterns to a subsequent generation (Hirsch 2008:111). Her work revolves around the descendants of holocaust survivors, many of who grew up with parents with posttraumatic stress, and many of whom may have experienced difficulties in providing care for their own children because they have 'inherited' emotions of helplessness and brought them into their own parenthood. Other scholars, Freud among them, have described trauma as memory that is corporally and unconsciously transferred from one generation to the next, contrasting Hirsch's conceptualization as ruptures in the intra-generational inheritance of memory. Both models, however, explain that a smokescreen has been

laid out over events, episodes or entire chapters in the collective history of the family, which are always bypassed in silence, as taboo.

Hirsch goes on to state that collective trauma is not only the concern of the individual family but in fact challenges the entire order of society, potentially with social, cultural, political, economic and ethical ramifications: 'How do we regard and recall what Susan Sontag has so powerfully described as "the pain of others?" (Sontag 2003) What do we owe the victims? How can we best carry their stories forward, without appropriating them, without unduly calling attention to ourselves, and without, in turn, having our own stories displaced by them?' Hirsch (2012:10) rhetorically asks, and her answer is an engagement in active memory works in the post-generations who follow. Often, such memory works may be mediated in art, which has the capacity to reactivate and re-embody memory structures and reinvest them with 'resonant individual and familial forms of mediation and aesthetic expression' (Hirsch 2008: 111). Hirsch notes that the medium of photography is particularly well suited for such reactivations due to what Roland Barthes termed the 'umbilical cord' (Barthes 2000[1981]:80), the indexical link made by a physical imprint of light between the past and the present, making us feel connected. In line with this Benjamin see the value of the photography in the capacity that 'the beholder feel an irresistible urge to search such a picture for the tiny spark of contingency' (Benjamin [1931] in Dant and Gilloch 2002:9) that brought exactly this moment onto paper, visible for us as a 'there then' made 'a here now' (Dant and Gilloch 2002:9). Photographs and other 'second-generation' fictions, art, memoirs and testimonies give voice to the child's hitherto repressed feelings of confusion and responsibility and the desire to repair the wrongs that he or she may hardly even know took place, as a way of healing the loss of family, of home, of a feeling of belonging or of safety in the world.

3.f. Mediated memories

Dutch media scholar Jose Van Dijck points to the fact that in contemporary societies we can hardly think about memory as something beyond the reach of media. Every spot on the earth today is influenced by media in various forms, and Greenland, which combines a wide

distribution of new technology with a high degree of geographical isolation[81], is certainly no exception. The role of media in the on-going processes of self-identification may sometimes be strong, perhaps even stronger in small-scale societies such as Greenland with a relatively small population and a relatively large media consumption, including local and national productions where those who are exposed are never anonymous and can always be connected to both place and family. In the small-scale society personal mediated memories in the form of narratives, visuals and objects often feed into the collective memories that are distributed to a wider public for instance in museums and in the mass media. On the other hand people everywhere incorporate the meanings and values they read in such collective memories and they influence on the categories through which the individual comprehends her surroundings. A central term in my analysis will therefore be what van Dijck has defined as 'personal cultural memory', namely 'the acts and products of remembering in which individuals engage to make sense of their lives in relation to the lives of others and to their surroundings, situating themselves in place and time'(Dijck 2007:6).

The term 'personal cultural memory' embrace that personal memories, as well as collective memories, are produced through cultural categories (Halbwachs 1992[1925]), in the habitus, but are sometimes kept in the personal realm, as objects on a shelf, photographs on one's own smartphone or wall, or as narratives that are not widely told. 'Collective cultural memory' reflects memories that are shared by a collective either through reception of the same mediated memory or as a direct experience of an event. Here, it is an important lesson from Halbwachs that the sharing of a collective cultural memory does not necessarily mean that it takes the same form for those who share it. A child will for instance feel and reflect rather differently upon a situation, than his parents do but nevertheless they may say that they shared the experience of it. No collective experience can ever be represented in a singular collective memory and this recognition of perspectives nowadays reflects in much memorial work where archives and museums now increasingly incorporate collections of 'small histories' and multiple-voice perspectives (Dijck 2007:10–11).

[81] Assistant professor at Ilisimatusarfik, Jette Rygaard describes this and underlines, importantly, that access to media are far from equally distributed, geographically and socially (Rygaard 2002).

In our current societies it is almost impossible to distinguish between medium and memory. We may understand this relationship through Connerton's optic of an inscribing practice through which memory is transferred, whilst it is mediated by the available technologies. It is difficult to imagine that our memories have not been changed by the sweeping uses of Facebook and smartphones, both highly relevant devices in a Greenlandic context. As pointed out by visual anthropologist David MacDougall (1992), our collective memory as global media consumers is a common experience of many international events, literally filmed through the same camera lenses and broadcast to millions of people, and a significant homogenization of mediated memories is here taking place, in contrast to sharing and receiving them in the diverse ways of the past, including as performances under a baobab tree or in the gleam of a blubber lamp. Nowadays, memories are rarely free of mediation in some form and as van Dijck has noted there is a large room for further memory studies on 'the mutual shaping of human cognitive memory and media technologies in every day cultural contexts'(Dijck 2007:150).

3.g. Narratives and visuals as cultural tools

Inscribing practices involve dissemination through texts as well as audio-visuals, print as well as electronic media. In my analysis I focus on memory practices in general, and in particular on visually and narratively mediated memories about industrialization in Greenland. There are empirical as well as theoretical reasons for this, including 1) my informants experience and externalizes memories narratively and visually, and 2) whereas within memory studies narrativity constitutes a substantial subfield (see for instance Bruner 1990; Bruner 1996; Wertsch 2002; Wertsch 2009; Berntsen and Bohn 2009), visually mediated memories have received more diverse attention (for instance Barthes 2000; Grossman 2014; Hirsch 2012; MacDougall 1992; MacDougall 2005). I hope that my analysis of the role of visual media in memory practices will contribute to a field of visual memory studies to develop in the years to come.

In this endeavour I find it productive to perceive both narratives and visual expressions as 'cultural tools' in reference to the terminology of anthropologist James Wertsch (2002:55ff). He proposes that we take 'mediated action' as the principal unit of analysis and describes media as 'cultural tools', which it is essential to master in order to be included in the cultural community (Wertsch 2002:13). To Wertsch, elements as diverse as computers, maps, narratives, ancient Peruvian knotted ropes, and Amazon.com may be used as such 'cultural tools', and, I will add, so may films and photographs. When analysing the cultural tools we need to understand them both from the perspective of their production and that of their consumption. In other words, we

need to focus on the writing of the cultural text, the production of the exhibition or composition or the marketing of Amazon.com as well as on the consumption of these products as processes of remembering that are never carried out solely by the cultural tool nor by the human agent in isolation, but always in an irreducible tension between the two.

In literary and cultural studies, narratives are recognized as particularly important 'toolkits' of human cognition in general (Bruner 1990), and Wertsch stresses their importance as cultural tools in memory practices (Wertsch 2009:120). Especially through narrative practices - and visual practices, I will add – discourses are articulated and negotiated, and here it becomes possible to observe how the past moves us discursively. The discourse is an ever-changing structure that is made up of all social phenomena, among them language and visuals. Discourses are shaped in partial fixations of meaning around certain nodal points (Laclau and Mouffe in Jørgensen and Phillips 2002:25). We may visualize the production of meaning and the nodal points metaphorically as a fishing-net, where some knots are particularly significant and meaningful, and through their relations to these all other knots get their meaning. Laclau and Mouffe draw out attention towards these nodal points and offer the examples of 'the body' as a nodal point in medical discourse, 'democracy' in political discourse and 'the people' in national discourse. If we now perceive social phenomena as 'articulation' we may understand them through the optic of discourse theorists Laclau and Mouffe who: 'will call articulation any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulary practice. The structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice we will call discourse' (Laclau and Mouffe in Jørgensen and Phillips 2002:25). Changing a discourse is challenging, yet still possible for the one who manages to hijack the nodal points, invest them with new meanings or replace them with other 'knots' that now become nodal points.

Collective memory as discourse employs what Wertsch calls 'schematic narrative templates',[82] which are characterized by 1) being concerned with abstract, generalized functions, 2) being narratively organized in form and 3) being abstract structures, underlying a range of specific narratives, which may differ in any regard, for instance settings, time or cast of characters

[82] These should not be confused with 'specific narratives', which denote specific events and persons (Wertsch 2009:128-9).

(Wertsch 2009:129). Schematic narrative templates are culturally specific and further characterized by not being immediately accessible to conscious reflection but requiring analytical reasoning. They appear natural, inevitable and as conservative forces in collective memory. Wertsch provides an example of such a narrative template as a single plot structure underlying general historical self-perceptions in Russia that may be briefly outlined as follows: Russia is a peaceful state that is viciously and wantonly attacked by a foreign enemy without any previous provocation, it suffers near-total defeat and extinction, but eventually, through heroism and exceptionalism, and against all odds, the country triumphs and succeeds in expelling the evil foreign enemy. Wertsch describes how such narratives offer strong tools in the constant struggles to define society and identity, in particular applied by states in projects of nation-building.

Literary scholar Kirsten Thisted has identified two such strong narrative templates in the historical accounts about the relations between Greenland and Denmark (Thisted 2014a)[83]: In the first narrative template, Denmark appears in a positive role as a protective 'mother nation', which has lifted Greenlanders from a low rung on an evolutionary ladder, from ignorant 'primitives' into a more prosperous, Christian and modern civilization. As noted by Thisted, this resonates with a widely propagated narrative about 'the white man's burden', but Denmark is presented as an outstandingly gentle and mild patron in comparison with larger and much more brutal colonial powers elsewhere, and the narrative stresses a uniquely close relationship between Greenlanders and Danes based on voluntariness within the Unity of the Realm (Thisted 2014b; Olwig 2003; see also Loftsdóttir and Jensen 2012). In the other narrative, Denmark is again the acting part, but here it acts as any colonial power, solely interested in Greenland for material gain; however, contrary to other colonial powers, Denmark succeeds in clouding over that fact. One of the criticisms raised here is aimed at the initiatives of assimilation, including efforts to repress the Greenlandic language. This narrative has its roots in the widespread anti-imperialism, anti-capitalism and nascent self-consciousness of indigenous peoples in the 1970s. It continues today, after the inception of Self Rule, because even this government is subordinated the Unity of the Realm as the sovereign power in foreign affairs, including security politics (Jensen 2012; Thisted, Kirsten 2014c). This narrative assigns a passive role to the Greenlanders,

[83] See Chapter 2.

again, and as noted by Thisted, there is a strong need for a 'new narrative that may provide space for Greenlandic agents'[84] (Thisted 2014b:171; see also Thisted 2012a).

3.h. Visual memory practices

In the anthropological debate about 'the crisis of representation' during the 1970s and 80s, the medium of photography was often characterized as a Western technology that had spread to and been imposed on the rest of the world, however, just as anthropologists have generally abandoned the idea of acculturation, today, we should also perceive the medium of photography as a simultaneously globally disseminated and locally appropriated medium (Bourdieu 1990b; Chalfen 1987; Edwards 2001; Pinney 2003:1)[85]. The media of film and photography both have histories in Greenland that stretch back to the very first years of these media in a global context[86]. They were introduced by numerous expeditions members and subsequently widely used by both Greenlandic and Danish public officers and professional photographers[87] and, from the 1950s on, also in many private, Greenlandic homes. In my fieldwork I have thus had the opportunity to work with photos and film produced by my informants themselves as well as by other Greenlanders or Danes in both the distant and very close past.

In this process, I have perceived photography and films, along with narratives, as cultural tools (Wertsch 2002:55ff) that may play a powerful role in ongoing struggles to define society and identity. Intentionality may, on the face of it, be imagined to be strongest in professional media products, but in fact, private photographs may turn out to be just as instrumental in communicating values and meanings, including in conveying and sustaining traditions as social memory (Connerton 1989). Their communicative impact may be a result of a framing within certain conventions, which the photographer has discursively reproduced, perhaps without reflecting on it (Bourdieu 1990b; Chalfen 1987; Sandbye 2013; 2014). We may, for instance, bring a camera along on our child's first day of school in order to document this important

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[84] My translation from the Danish.
[85] See Chapter 5.
[86] The oldest known colour films recorded in Greenland are from 1927–9 and were made by a Scottish botanist, Isobel Wylie, on Dufaycolor. An entertaining and informative report on the introduction of film in Greenland may be read in (Pedersen 2003, in Danish).
[87] The first trained Greenlandic photographer, John Møller, took numerous group and portrait photographs in 1889–1935 (Kleivan 1996).

‘passage’ and thus manifest the already existing social texture that has taught us that this really is an important memory. In the words of van Dijck, the ‘”personal” and “cultural” are the threads that bind memory’s texture’ (Dijck 2007:6). Conservative and conforming as this may appear at first sight, van Dijck points out that the memory texture may in fact just as often become a point of departure for creative processes that may end up defining new social norms and behaviours. On the other hand, anthropologist Christopher Pinney, after watching hundreds of photographs taken in cross-cultural contexts, notes that ‘the degree of conventionalism that inheres in even the clearest, most accurate photograph, is something of a shock,’ (Pinney 2011:107) and consequently he warns us never to take people’s readings of photographs for granted. There are no ‘facts about which there is no question’ (Pinney 2011:107). In my analysis I have sought to understand such conventions in the ways that my informants use the visual media of photography and film.

The Greenlandic artist Pia Arke’s book Scoresbysundhistorier (Arke 2003) features a comprehensive example of such a re-reading of the conventions behind photographs in private archives, including her own family, bringing them to her birth town, Ittoqqortoormiit, to engage people’s memories by showing them these photographs. The inhabitants in the town are descendants of some Danes and 100 Greenlanders who in 1925 were relocated here from Ammassalik some 1,000 km south. Based on the photographs and the memories they evoked she was able to produce an entirely different version of the memory about the foundation of this town than had hitherto been officially known. I am inspired by her elicitation of memories through the use of photographs of something familiar, yet almost forgotten. Yet, as an artist she turned ‘colonial history into a part of my history in the only way that I know of, namely by taking it personally,’ (Arke 2003:11) and this personal perspective made her work different, both methodologically and aesthetically, from my project. What we both exploit, however, is the ‘illogical conjunction between the *here-now* and the *there-then’* (Barthes 1990[1977]:44) that photographs so forcefully communicate. Due to their indexical qualities they relate us to the past while at the same time making us aware of the historicity that separates the photographed moment from our moment in the present.

Barthes puts forward that a radical opposition exist between film and photographs because when watching a photographic image one has this awareness whereas the viewing of a film ‘by and large depends […on] more magical fictional consciousness’(Barthes 1990[1977]:45). Film is not only to be seen as animated photographs, but rather it facilitates ‘a *being-there* of the thing’

(Barthes 1990[1977]:45). This insight broadened my understanding of some of my experiences with film-elicitation, and I shall return to it in chapter 6 when I analyse my film- and photo-elicitations.

3.i. Performance and re-contextualization

'Images are not representations in the sense of a screen onto which meaning is projected,' Pinney (2004:8) notes; rather, they are 'compressed performances' (Pinney 2004:8). Photographic images often plays a role in anthropological fieldworks, Wright (2004:73–4) notes, but he warns us that we tend to forget to take its materiality in consideration, to investigate what photography actually means to our informants and 'how they might figure its ability to effectively contain or evoke the past'(Wright 2004:74). We should therefore focus on the concrete and material presence of the photography rather than the meanings projected into it by its creator. The photography may change meaning when it is moved from one cultural context and to another and it is only when the qualities and potential meanings inherent in an visual object are activated that a photography gains any significance (Banks 2001:54ff; Binney and Chaplin 2003; Buijs 2010; Peers and Brown 2009; Salvador-Amores 2016; Wright 2003). For instance when a photographic image moves from the private to the public sphere, or the opposite way, the move often involves a re-contextualization. The 'social biography' of the photography may be changed or even deleted if it is delivered to an archive without sufficient context, or the information may be altered if it is published in a book or paper or on the internet where, perhaps, it enters a new circulation. Here, the photographic image may come to live a new life, independent of original intention or meaning. Digitalization has facilitated such processes to happen at much larger speed and on Facebook, for instance, numerous old photographs are being shared and are potentially gaining new value, perhaps giving rise to nostalgic 'emotional communities' (Wetherell 2012)[88].

There is a parallel in numerous such cases of exchanges of objects that have taken place in colonial contexts, and collections of objects in ethnographic museums may be perceived as cultural re-contextualization par excellence. Cultural meanings and values are exposed in these transformative processes, and the 'mutability of things in re-contextualisation' (Thomas

[88] I elaborate on this concept in my analysis in Chapter 8.

1991:28) becomes a most interesting topic of analysis, as Nicholas Thomas has argued in his influential 'Entangled Objects' in which he included visuals as objects (Thomas 1991:4).

It follows from Fabian's definition of memory as a selective process, as I pointed out in the beginning of this chapter, that something must be lost in these processes. Something is deselected, more or less consciously, and thereby doomed to oblivion. Something remains a personal memory, perhaps forever, perhaps to be shared and eventually becoming collective memory. Memory and forgetting mutually assume the other (Connerton 2009:12), and 'memory is as much about the privacy to inscribe memories for oneself and the desire to share them only with designated recipients as it is about publicity, or the inclination to share experiences with a number of unknown viewers and readers' (Dijck 2007:12–13). There are memories that we have no wish to share, because they seem trivial or unimportant to others, or because they are painful, shameful or difficult to deal with in other ways[89]. Reasons may be multiple, and our perceptions of these reasons may change over time as the result of negotiations of individual and collective impulses. It is remarkable that, contrary to mental archives, material archives, which includes photography and film, cannot be deselected without a (at least partially) conscious and visible process of discarding. Visual materials may 'lie dormant' for many years as was the case with the film material by Jette Bang that I brought with me to Greenlandic museums as part of my fieldwork: stored on shelves in archives or in photo albums that nobody opens, but they remain in the world, as a potential for future re-activation and re-interpretation if future agents find them discursively relevant.

3.j. Memory versus history

In Greenland I collected memories and made them objects of analysis, and naturally it draws my attention to the ways in which they relate to the historical texts of the same period of time. Anthropologist Paul Connerton claimed that 'The transition from an oral culture to a literate culture is a transition from incorporating practices to inscribing practices' (Connerton 2006 [1989]:75). Resonating with this view of contrasting societies, anthropologists Gable and

[89] For instance, there is no demarcation in Denmark of the place where, after the Second World War, Danish Nazi collaborators were executed. As journalist Klaus Rothstein writes, 'Nobody wants to remember the state that retroactively introduces the death penalty and executes its own citizens […] Of course, it is much easier to commemorate the good people who were executed by the bad than it is to remember the bad people executed by the good' (Rothstein 2016). My translation from the Danish.

Handler observe an opposition between memory and history, originally formulated in the 1920s by Maurice Halbwachs (1992[1925]) and used discriminatively in the sense that 'we' in the West claim to have history, whereas 'they' can 'only' lay claim to memory. In such a view, memory is seen as a simplifying, group-based, traditional engagement with the past that is devoid of any sophisticated capacity for dealing with the ambiguities and complexities embraced in history writing (Gable and Handler 2011; Wertsch 2002:19,124; see also Wolf 1982). Gable and Handler object that it is wrong to contrast what is essentially two forms of the same practice. Nevertheless, I have found it illustrative to consider Wertsch's schematic outline of differences between the two forms in the model below. Wertsch warns that his taxonomy outlines ideal types that are not so easily and neatly separated. We should perceive them as tendencies and aspirations, as forms that are always operating in a state of mutual tension.

Collective Memory	**History**
'Subjective'	'Objective'
Single committed perspective	Distanced from any particular perspective
Reflects a particular group's framework	Reflects no particular social framework
Unself-conscious	Critical, reflective stance
Impatient with ambiguities about motives and the interpretation of events	Recognizes ambiguity
Denies 'pastness' of events	Focus on historicity
Links the past with the present	Differentiates the past from the present
Ahistorical, anti-historical	Views past events as 'then and not now'
Commemorative voice	Historical voice
Museum as a temple	Museum as a forum
Unquestionable heroic narratives	Disagreement, change, and controversy as part of ongoing historical interpretation

Source: (Wertsch 2009:127).

The two types co-exist everywhere: all literate cultures still contain important and substantial elements of oral culture through which they reproduce patterns of behaviour and modes of thought. We know both kinds of engagements with the past – and the future, we can now add – from European societies, from Greenland and from everywhere else in the world where literacy is dispersed to any degree. One moment we critically compare historical sources and reinterpret

them; the next, we listen to myths about the deeds of our forebears or lay a wreath on a memorial site without critical reflection and distance.

Many of the characteristics on the 'history' list are conventions that belong within a positivistic science tradition, which is largely perceived as out-dated among scholars, but is perhaps perceived as more current in a popular audience, including many of my informants. When writing within that tradition one may therefore also draw on the authority of that convention, and I therefore find it important to be aware of that perspective of power and to read history books through a critical lens.

In line with Derrida, Stoler argues that when we as scholars re-read the archives we must take as a point of departure that archival production is both a process and a powerful technology of rule (Stoler 2002:100). Our analysis should focus on 'how much colonial history-writing has been shaped by nationalist historiographies and nation-bound projects.'(Stoler 2002:100). Stoler follows that line in her comprehensive studies of archival texts whereas my postcolonial reading will take another shape: In my analysis I will 1) focus on archival film material just as I will 2) re-read the archives in respect to a more metaphorical understanding of the term. In this I seem to fit into Stoler's image of most students of the colonial who 'now work with archives in a reflective mode, treat 'the archive' as something in between a set of documents, their institution, and a repository of memory – both a place and a cultural space that encompass official documents but are not confined to them'(Stoler 2009:49). Within the confines of my field of study I am mainly going to focus on the archive in its abstract meaning and do as Stoler recommends: 'Some students of colonialism are rereading those archives and doing oral histories with people who lived those archived events to comment on colonial narratives of them' (Stoler 2002:89). In this I consider the meanings of the mental archives of people whose voices have hitherto neither been heard in public through cultural memories nor been documented and kept in the archives.

3.k. Conclusion

Memory practices and emotional practices are inexorably linked, perhaps mutually enforcing each other, and hereby potentially executing strong agencies. Memory practices lift out of the larger reservoir of storage memory those memories that are capable of supporting present projects and pointing out future directions. Such functional memories inherit their legitimacy based on their continuity with the past (A.Assmann 2011[1999]) in narrative and visual terms, by

demonstrating an indexical link between past and present. In a Greenlandic present where narratives of history and memory play significant roles in identification processes and orientations towards an independent and prosperous future, it is, in this light, highly relevant to observe how industrialization is represented and reinterpreted today – or not – and what spaces are left for these industrial memories vis-à-vis other memories. A central perspective on this issue will be an observation of how personal memories are gaining public attention, whereas, in turn, the publicly available versions of the industrial past may also impact on how individuals remember, including their own agentive possibilities.

Memories are discursively mediated in narratives and visuals, and in the next chapter I am going to outline the methodologies and research design I have applied in observing these in practice. From there, I will proceed with my analytical chapters, each exploring from a different angle how industrialization in Greenland and people's local agencies in relation to this transformation are currently being remembered. In other words, how are these reflections of the past moving people in the present, as uncovered during my periods of fieldwork in the Disko Bay Area, Sisimiut and Nuuk in 2014 and 2015?

Chapter 4. Methodologies: Memory and movement

It has by now become clear that a tension between memory and movement constitutes a central axis in this dissertation, aiming to provide theoretical answers to the question of how we are moved by the past and empirical data about how people in Greenland remember industrialization and their own agency during those years? I argue that strong emotions make memories stronger, and that visuals are strong media for the transfer of these memory and emotional practices. In this chapter I unfold how these questions, and the first part of the title of the dissertation, are reflected in three methodological engagements that constitute the basis of my fieldwork. They all deal – in fundamentally different ways – with relations between archives and movement.

Next, I am going to offer a motivation for my research design, including my choices of field locations, my sampling and my different ways of conducting participant observation. I have produced a broad variety of data and will here discuss the validity of such a multi-sited[90] and multi-methodological approach. Finally, I will describe how my first experiments in the field, in pilot fieldworks conducted at a very early stage in the project period, impacted and altered some of these methodological strategies.

4.a. Methodological engagements: memory, archives, movement

My three methodological engagements are:

1) Impacts of the past in the present: I aim at comprehending the interplay between physical archives (museum exhibitions and archives, film archives), individual persons' mental memory archives and the present they inhabit in the Disko Bay area. Where can we observe memories about the processes of industrialization during the final decades of the 20th century, and which of these archives have the capacity to move people emotionally? I observe how my informants

[90] In 1995, anthropologist George Marcus introduced the idea that based on a 'tracking' strategy of empirically following the thread of cultural process, numerous multi-sited ethnographies were taking shape in those years, but had yet to be conceptualized as such. Marcus explained multi-sited ethnographies as a necessary methodological approach to our current reality in which 'Ethnography moves from its conventional single-site location, contextualised by macro-constructions of a larger social order, such as the capitalist world system, to multiple sites of observation and participation that cross-cut dichotomies such as the "local" and the "global", the "lifeworld" and the "system".[…] The emergence of multi-sited ethnography is located within new spheres of interdisciplinary work, including media studies, science and technology studies, and cultural studies broadly' (Marcus 1995:95).

are moved by past events, mental perceptions, archival material, images and narratives; in other words, I examine **how archives move us**.

2) Experiments with film and photo elicitations[91] in the fieldworks: in the previous chapter I argued that visual media provide more direct access to emotional memories and therefore act as strong forces in memory practices (A.Assmann 2006; MacDougall and Castaing-Taylor 1998; Pinney 2011). Through my second methodological engagement I ask, **what particular roles may archives of moving images play?** Examining the links that exist between moving images, visuality, memory, emotion and affect, I discuss the background for my active interventions based on film screenings and photo elicitations, a method that has been a key to observing the variation of 'soft' and 'hard agencies' in people's memories. Archives are powerful representations of the past and hence interesting points of departure for analysing power relations in change.

3) Visual, digital returns as a starting point for anthropological fieldwork: archives are powerful and may even be perceived as a metaphor for 'the law of what can be said' (Foucault 2010:144). So, what interests were at stake when I returned archives to Greenlandic museums, and how did the process unfold? In other words, **how do we move the archives**, in a Danish-Greenlandic context, as currents in waves of what has been termed 'repatriation', 'returns' or 'digital sharing' of 'cultural heritage' on global scales (Clifford 1997; Clifford 2013)?

These are three inter-related but very different ways of engaging with archives, visuals and movement which I have chosen to combine in order to generate different forms of data. I assume that a synthesis of these methodologies will enable me to comment generally on the relations between memory, visuality and movement. Archives move us, just as we move them, and perhaps this applies even more to visual archives than any other form of archive?

Archives move us

In the previous chapter, I introduced the idea of media as prominent cultural tools in memory works, reflecting the particular sociocultural settings. Mediated remembering is inherently

[91] 'Photo elicitation is based on the simple idea of inserting a photograph into a research interview,' writes Harper (2002:13) and then goes on to explain how the interviewer may introduce images (which need not be limited to photographs but might, for instance, include moving images) in the interview situation and thus profitably evoke different kinds of information than in a traditional verbal interview.

situated in a sociocultural context (Wertsch 2002:13), and thus, one of the first concerns in my fieldwork was to determine what types of mediated remembering was going on in the everyday life of my informants. What archives moved them? Specifically, I wanted to determine which archives about industrialization were relevant to my informants. The broadcast media and newspapers immediately directed my attention towards particular memory cases, and this enabled me to move forward by observing and asking what roles these mediated memories played for my informants. Other memories were presented to me through conversations, perhaps in combination with my informants showing me images on their smartphones, in photo albums or on the walls of their homes. I also turned my attention towards the institutions that we normally associate with representations of the past: museums, archives, and educational institutions, alternating with interviews about people's personal memory archives aimed at understanding which of the publicly available memories moved my informants, and which did not. Analyses of exhibitions and films became an integrated part of this process. Finally, I introduced an archival film material in screenings for individuals, small focus groups and public audiences in order to see what impact they would make.

As stated above, I aim at comprehending the interplay between physical archives, mental memory archives and the present. From my perspective, the definition of an archive must include collections of texts, images, or sounds, physical sites, and people's personal and perhaps not-yet-mediated memories. In the words of historical anthropologist Ann Laura Stoler, we may understand the archive as 'a strong metaphor for any corpus of selective forgettings and collections – and, as importantly, for the seductions and longings that such quests for, and accumulations of, the primary, originary, and untouched entail' (Stoler 2009:94). This definition provides a starting point for an analysis of the archive as a dynamic entity. In my practice-based and social constructivist perspective the archive is an ordered collection preserved for the future, and rather than seeing these sources as 'springs of real meaning' (Stoler 2002:91) I propose that we focus on how the archives have been constructed, collected and brought to carry meanings and values in specific historical contexts. Such an approach may apply on the level of colonial state archives, but for me, smaller and non-institutional archives, such as private photo albums or collections on mobile phones, on walls, or even only mentally, in people's minds, are just as important. This is the case because I perceive archives as repositories of memory that may include collections of physical documents as well as mental memory stores that function as representations of the past in the present (Stoler 2002). Hence, my analysis deals with both mental and material representations of the past in the present.

I have observed how events and phenomena are documented and preserved in people's memory archives and sometimes, through mediation, enter public archives or are, in turn, influenced by the mediated memories that I choose in this context to call memory archives. I have been puzzled to observe how certain memory archives suddenly gain attention to the detriment of others, and I have found a model developed by memory scholar Aleida Assmann helpful in understanding this dynamic. In her model, some memories become 'functional memories' at some point in time if they can be used to establish cohesion in a common identity and point a direction for a common and desired future for the group, based on references to a common past, be it more or less factual or imagined. We may conceive the functional memories as a foreground against a background of an entire ocean of elements available for potential revitalization, renegotiation, and reinterpretation (A.Assmann 2011). Referring back to my perspective on emotion as a practice that may potentially create group loyalties, we may add to Assmann's model that it is through emotional practices that 'functional memories' gain force and agency (Connerton 1989; Dijck 2007; Scheer 2012). We functionalize the memories that move us and have a role to play in our present. On this ground I decided to analyse what archives people choose to functionalize. Which archives are they moved by? Which public memories make a significant impact on their personal memories, and how do people, in turn, make personal memories available as public memories?

Moving images in archives

What is special about **films in archives**, and how do I examine that in my fieldwork? Films, or 'motion pictures', in archives provide viewers with images in motion, thus 'bringing to life' images from the past, often something long gone. The visual seems to offer viewers more direct access to emotional memories than other communicative media. Photography and film offer a temporal duality, a sense of being in the present and in the past at the same time (Barthes 2000; Dant and Gilloch 2002), and this may engender recognition as well as renewed insights. The world as we know it has changed and will always, inexorably, change: tramways in the streets of well-known cities, which now have intense motor traffic; distant relatives moving, with gestures that we recognize; dances performed or rituals enacted in ways that are embodied but may be slightly altered in contemporary re-enactments. The combination of visual communication and the quality of motion makes the motion picture a strong medium with the capacity to evoke emotions such as surprise, delight, thrill, or disgust. Most audiences are likely to gaze at moving images before anything else in a room, as a sheer reaction, and this appeal favours the medium of

film over other media. Behavioural psychologists may view this as a relic from pre-historic times, when man had to stay alert in order to react and defend himself against predators on the savannah; today, it is an impulse that, for instance, advertisers exploit in website banners and illuminated advertising. Further, the photographic image possesses certain qualities that are shared by film, which, after all, consists of frame after frame of photos. One important feature of the photographic image is, as mentioned in Chapter 3, its indexical link to reality, in other words the fact that it bears a direct and physical imprint of the real world.

In Chapter 3, I described how Jan Assmann argues that visual memories, due to their strong emotional appeal, are particularly strong in memory practices (J.Assmann 2006:3). Although he articulates it rather differently, when visual anthropologist David MacDougall describes how memory is presented to the self, he seems to recognize Jan Assmann's concept of scenic memories. The 'images and scenes' that, in Assmann's theory, make a direct imprint on memory may be perceived as parallel to the communicative language of the film medium.

> We might well consider memory our seventh sense, that record of an antecedent existence upon which our intellectual identity precariously rests. Memory is often apparently incoherent, and a strange mixture of the sensory and the verbal. It offers us the past in flashes and fragments, and in what seems a hodge-podge of mental 'media'. We seem to glimpse images, hear sounds, use unspoken words and re-experience such physical sensations as pressure and movement. It is in this multidimensionality that memory perhaps finds its closest counterpart in the varied and intersecting representational systems of film,

writes MacDougall (1992:29). It is this parallelism that inspires me to experiment with film as a tool for the evocation of memories, as film elicitations, in my fieldwork. I consider four aspects in the relationship between memory archives and film: First, due to the common representational codes of memory and film, I expect to have more open-ended conversations, characterized by associations, emotions, and affect, when I engage with my informants through visuals. Second, in introducing archival films recorded in familiar places and potentially depicting familiar persons and phenomena, I provide an opportunity for direct recognition and may thus facilitate a sharing of local knowledge between my informants and the local museums. Third, by bringing an attractive film material I am in the fortunate position of being able to offer something that may motivate people to engage in my project. Fourth and finally, as an outsider working in a

society where the cultural codes may be partially or entirely unknown to me, I am in the same situation as the filmmaker who shot the footage and may thus gain insight into these codes through people's reactions. In such transcultural relationships, visual codes may sidestep many linguistic obstacles since, as David MacDougall writes,

> We might say, in fact, that the content of a photograph is overwhelmingly physical and psychological before it is cultural. It therefore transcends 'culture' in a way that most written ethnographic descriptions do not – both by subordinating cultural differences to other, more visible contents (including other kinds of differences, such as physical ones) and by underscoring commonalities that cut across cultural boundaries. In contrast to ethnographic writing, this transculturality is a dominant feature of ethnographic films and photographs. (MacDougall and Castaing-Taylor 1998: 252)

Just as I have experienced such transcendence, both when watching and producing ethnographic films, I find it pertinent to caution that, on the other hand, visuality may also work in contradictory ways. Information is encoded and decoded differently in different cultural contexts (Chalfen 1987; Bourdieu 1990), and while watching a film may cause some differences to become familiarized and hence comprehensible, others may provoke, disturb, or repel, even to a degree where it repulses the viewer and causes feelings of alienation. The value of ethnographic methods in such visual memory studies is obvious: only by observing how people actually engage with photography and film may we come to understand what visuals mean to them and what conventions regulate their own production and consumption of visuals in memory practices.

In my fieldwork I used both photographs and film for elicitation, but whereas the photographs belonged to and were defined by each of my informants separately, in the film elicitations I always screened excerpts, targeted to the specific audience, from a film material recorded in 1938–9 in West Greenland by the Danish photographer and filmmaker Jette Bang. In Chapter 6 I describe this film material and its unusual journey from being created, in part, in the areas where I later conducted my fieldwork to being returned to these areas in connection with my visit. Here, it suffices to explain that the films were rare recordings of early industrial endeavours in locations which would be familiar to the viewers, showing work in the mines, the shipyard, the hospital, the grocer's shop, the telegraph, radio or printing house; by screening the films I could

therefore expect to elicit memories about transitional stages to industrial ways of living, even as these would have played out decades later.

We move the archives

Since the 1980s[92] we are continually seeing postcolonial waves rippling, moving, or sweeping archives of former colonized people from the 'temples of knowledge' in the West to institutions in newly constituted states and communities. Moving the archives is a symbolically powerful act with the potential to change future identity politics. Even though I have above, with Stoler, recommended a constructivist approach to the study of archives and a critical reading of their documents, the notion of an archive still carries an authoritative meaning. According to the French deconstructivist Jacques Derrida, we may trace the etymology of the word from the Latin Arkhē, which means both 'commencement' and 'commandment' (Derrida 1995:9). The archive combines a physical, historical, or ontological place of departure, 'there where things commence'(ibid.), with a place from where 'men and gods command'(bid.). In the archive, authority is exercised, and orders are issued. Archivists not only serve as guardians and protectors of the archive; they also hold the privileged right of interpreting its documents, as in the Greek arkheion here were archons who were entitled to recall and impose the law, in effect to state the law based on the documents' (Derrida 1995:10). In other words, the archive embraces origin as well as authority. It is no wonder that archives have become such inevitable elements when constituting ethnic or national groups or, as a further consequence, that archives are so actively protected in vulnerable states, even in the face deliberate, armed attacks[93]. We want to defend our archives, not because we do not want to forget, but because the archive - materializing our past - plays a crucial role for our future: 'It is a question of the future, the question of the future itself, the question of a response, of a promise and of a responsibility for tomorrow' (Derrida 1995:27).

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[92] In 1986 the International Council of Museums (ICOM) issued a 'Code of Professional Ethics' which caused many European and North American Museums to set repatriation high on the agenda in Western museums (Gabriel 2010:12).

[93] The world has recently witnessed this in regard to Syria and earlier for instance when Timbuktu's Ahmed Baba Institute collection was attacked in 2012, and unique sources of West African history were destroyed by the fundamentalist group 'Ansar Dine' (The Fate of Timbuktu's Literary and Scientific Heritage » MobyLives, January 2015) and when Al-Qaeeda groups damaged Iraqi archives and monuments in 2008 (World Heritage - Special Issue: Iraq's Heritage under Threat, June 2015).

In Chapter 2 I described how the recent history of the Greenlandic nation and its institutions confirms an international trend of redirecting the archival authority through repatriation and more equitable collaboration. My third methodological approach centred on the question of how I could best conduct research into these museum return practices and gain insight into why and how we may move the archives and with what outcomes. I realized that due to my past employment at the National Museum in Copenhagen I not only had the visual material but also the mandate and the skills to act as a museum worker and colleague and conduct participant observation in a bilateral museum exchange. As described in the introduction, I had in 2012 found a pile of forgotten films by Jette Bang in the archives at the museum and realized that they might be helpful in new history writings in Greenland. Returning them to relevant institutions in Greenland would seem to offer obvious benefits to both history professionals and private citizens. I was eager to take them to Greenland, and it was not difficult to convince the head of the Ethnographic Collections about the meaningful purposes of such an institutional transfer. For the National Museum in Copenhagen, the return process would add to the long-lasting and close relationships with the national and local museums in Greenland, hereby facilitating further contacts and collaboration and bolstering the museum's prestige in the role as a fair donor of what was once removed from Greenland, be it archaeological or ethnographic artefacts, images, or knowledge. Jette Bang's daughter, Anne, who held the copyrights to her mother's photographs and films, liked the idea, as her mother had clearly intended her visual materials to be used in Greenland. Personally, I saw this as an obviously interesting subject for a research project, which would be well suited for a PhD project, the fruits of which would include interesting personal experiences, new academic insights, an expansion of my networks in museums and academia in Greenland as well as stable salary for three years and the pleasure of writing the present thesis. The very process of engaging with informants in Greenland by offering them an opportunity to watch Jette Bang's films or receive a set of DVDs for future use became one of my three main methodological approaches.

4.b. Multi-sitedness and multiple methods

From the outset, I have thought of my project as a conglomerate of different field experiences, all answering to the question, ***h****ow do people in the Disko Bay area currently remember industrialization?* Multi-sited ethnography has been a widely acknowledged practice in anthropology and sociology since it was formulated as such in 1995 in a much-cited article by anthropologist George Marcus (Marcus 1995). Not only did I presume that I would be working in multiple sites, I also presumed that I would apply multiple methodologies, and that my data, as

a result, would be diverse in nature and variable in volume. What I could not foresee was the actual ways in which this process would be influenced by my field experiences: would the museums I wanted to visit be interested in Jette Bang's films? Would film elicitations generate significant data? How would people react to these colonial documents? Would the young generations be repelled by these old, black-and-white silent movies? Was my methodological root stock of participant observation and film elicitations relevant, and what new branches might they produce?

A research project based on single-sited fieldwork is almost impossible to imagine today. In fact, there was never just one site in any fieldwork, but at least until the 1990s, the choices of bounding, selection, and choice were often veiled by implicit assumptions of cultural uniformity and borders shaped by the times of holistic descriptions. Whereas the fragmented nature of contemporary life in Greenland, as elsewhere, is in itself a good reason to conduct multi-sited fieldwork, the real reason was my focus on answering the question, *how do people in the Disko Bay area currently remember industrialization*? The indication of a geographical area, as when I say the Disko Bay area, does therefore not imply any presumptions of homogenous identities, which do little to elucidate our understanding of people's actual and divergent life experiences. The geography implicated by 'the Disko Bay area' is merely a vague orientation towards the area where I mainly moved around, even making detours to Nuuk and Sisimiut, which are situated further south on the coast. Had it not been for the sky-high costs of transportation I may as well have conducted my fieldwork, as Jette Bang did, along the entire west coast of Greenland, as I am not aiming for a 'Disko Bay experience/identity/culture' but for a variety of memories of living through stages of industrial transition in Greenland.

As noted by Candea in a 'defence of the bounded field-site' (Candea 2009:27), the multi-sited approach has enabled anthropologists to expand their horizons, but at the same time the practitioners of this approach have often been more concerned with the 'multiple' than with the 'siting'. I share Candea's point of view that this methodology should rather cause us to pay more attention to the processes of bounding, selection and choice, which shape the research process, including how we discover sites and their boundaries and understand them according to the ways in which they are meaningful to the people we, as anthropologists, work with. In the words of sociologist and anthropologist Vered Amit, the ethnographic field 'has to be laboriously constructed, prised apart from all the other possibilities for contextualisation to which its constitutent relationships and connections could also be referred' (Amit 2003:6). Below and in

the course of my analysis, I will do my best to live up to that awe-inspiring ambition. I consider such a constant self-reflexive awareness to be a necessary methodological component in all fieldworks where sites are defined and redefined by a 'complicit' anthropologist[94].
My guiding principle in the 'sitings' in my field was that these should enable me to listen to personal or meditated memories about the story of *how people in the Disko Bay area currently remember industrialization*. As early as 1995, Marcus pointed out that memory scholars may productively use a multi-sited approach, since

> Processes of remembering and forgetting produce precisely those kinds of narratives, plots, and allegories that threaten to reconfigure in often disturbing ways versions (myths, in fact) that serve state and institutional orders. In this way, such narratives and plots are a rich source of connections, associations, and suggested relationships for shaping multi-sited objects of research (Marcus 1995:109; see also Boyarin 1994).

'Follow the story' was one of Marcus's tenets for how to frame multi-sited ethnography. 'Follow the people', 'follow the thing', 'follow the metaphor', the story, the allegory, the life or biography or the conflict were other tenets proposed by Marcus in 1995, which have since been followed up by other aspects[95] defined by other anthropologists as empirically observable envisionings of social landscapes (Marcus 1995:106ff).

4.c. Participant observations

My participant observations would take place in museums in the company of museum directors, to whom I related as a colleague, among people who used the museums in their memory practices, at film screenings where film elicitation would be an integral methodology in the form of public audience discussions, focus group discussions, or one-on-one discussions. Most of the informants with whom I had more extensive conversations or life history seances were people I actively approached through networks, encounters during film screenings, or – albeit fairly unsuccesfully – emails or announcements on posters in the public realm. I conducted 41 life

[94] I elaborate on the concept of 'the complicit fieldworker' in section 4.e.
[95] 'Follow the money' is probably the most famous among them, a tenet applied by economists, criminal investigators and crime fiction writers rather than anthropologists.

history conversations or interviews with 36 informants and three focus group interviews, and I organized and observed nine public screenings in Qasigiannguit, Sisimiut, Nuuk, and Qeqertarsuaq.

My participatory-observing role as a museum worker expanded to fragmented participant observations in Denmark in a variety of set-ups: communicating with informants through email, by telephone or via Facebook; meeting with visiting museum directors at the National Museum (in two instances); or in connection with cultural events, such as film screenings or exhibitions in Copenhagen that offered themselves as opportunities for observations. For a couple of years, following the Greenlandic news on the internet, in print newspapers, and on the radio had already been an integrated part of my everyday life, and in particular I followed the growing production of Greenlandic films on the internet and at festivals in Berlin and Copenhagen. As part of my data collection effort I analysed Jette Bang's films and their journey through the press, the archives, and post-production contexts that I was able to trace through her diaries and in newspaper clippings in the archives at the Arctic Institute in Copenhagen. I also compared her films to contemporary film materials that I had worked with previously at the National Museum in Copenhagen and at the Danish Film Institute. Finally, I also collected data on the historical and political contexts at meetings and lectures, both in Denmark and in Greenland[96], most notably through my participation in two research networks, 'Denmark and the New North Atlantic' at the University of Copenhagen and 'Resource Extraction and Sustainable Arctic Communities' (REXSAC) at Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm, both of which caused me to revise my perspectives at a very early and a very late stage, respectively, in the process[97].

All these methods for data collection and for obtaining contextual knowledge helped me to trace the plot of memories of transitions to industrialization and people's own agencies in this process. They became tools in a methodological toolbox that enabled me to implement the three

[96] These included the presentation of the report 'To the benefit of Greenland' (Rosing 2014) at the University of Copenhagen and my own lectures about Jette Bang at 'The Greenlandic Society' in Copenhagen and 'Kunstetagerne' in Hobro.

[97] In the Introduction I describe how my participation in 'Denmark and the New North Atlantic' caused me to reformulate my main research question, and in Chapter 7 I outline how I, admittedly to my surprise, came to broaden my horizon when I spoke with another type of informants as a result of fieldwork collaboration with REXSAC researchers.

methodological engagements described above. They defined the sites of my investigation and analysis, and I consider the data I produced by applying each of them as my 'sites'. Hence, these methods are what I refer to when I speak of multi-sitedness, rather than the physical and geographical spaces that I travelled to and from, whether by helicopter, plane, boat, bicycle or internet connection. In my analysis I will strive to clarify how they each offered opportunities for collecting not only different data but also very different *types* of data. The validity of my analysis rests on the extent to which they enabled me to answer to the question, ***h**ow do people the Disko Bay area currently remember industrialization?*

Such a perception of what constitutes a field requires attentive and agile planning and organizing of both time and space. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the geography of Greenland and the economic constraints that result from the high costs associated with travelling restrict improvisation, such as spontaneously visiting another town. However, I did make a travel plan and changed it a couple of times in accordance with reformulations of my research design, both early and very late in the process, as I will elaborate further on in section 4.l. I conducted fieldworks in Nuuk and in two other locations on the west coast, where Jette Bang's films were relevant because parts of the film were shot there. During my six-week stay in Nuuk, I lectured together with my co-supervisor on 'Memory and Visual Culture – a Greenlandic perspective' at the Department of Language, Literature and Media at Ilisimatusarfik[98] and here profited from conducting participant observation among our students. I planned to travel to another site on the Greenlandic west coast in October 2015, but then the field 'came to me', long before I had planned, and little more than three months into my PhD process.

4.d. A lucky stumble

I had just published an article in the journal 'Greenland' (Jørgensen 2013) about the films by Jette Bang and their interesting history when I received an email from the director at Qasigiannguit Museum, who had read it and now requested to buy or borrow the films. In 2014, Jette Bang would have turned 100 years old, had she still been alive, and in Qasigiannguit they wanted to celebrate this anniversary with photo exhibitions and events in February, March and April, focusing on the history of healthcare, the old church in town, and the fisheries and former

[98] The University of Greenland.

shrimp factory. After reading that she had also produced films documenting, among other things, the industrial fisheries in the Disko Bay area, the museum director now also envisioned film screenings. The public events that she planned equalled the kind of events that I was planning to organize myself, and the fact that she planned to invite her fellow townsmen and -women to talk about their memories was a dream scenario for me to venture into, even at the risk of stumbling, since I only had a couple of weeks to prepare the fieldwork and logistics. I had intended to select site-specific scenes from the approximately two hours of footage by Jette Bang, but there was no time to make such a selection, and I simply decided to focus on the fisheries, with footage from a shrimp factory, a shipyard, and various boats at sea. I remembered that at the National Museum in Copenhagen I had digitized films from the same area and period by fishery biologist Paul Marinus Hansen, and I decided to bring this film along.

We agreed that I would bring the films for the screenings and afterwards conduct focus group interviews as well as general participant observation on the museum context and active memory practices. This allowed both the museum and myself to gain knowledge about the people, places, and practices in the films and about the ways in which memories would be narrated in this museum context. Further, I would get a first insight into the local value of Bang's film material and its potential use in memory works. Finally, we would collaborate with a teacher from the local boarding school on documenting the debates following the screenings on film for use of the Qasigiannguit museum and in my research. I was very curious to see what sort of memories the films would evoke. Would people recognize deceased family members and friends? Would they add information about what was going on in the scenes? Would they be moved? Perhaps angry about the colonial notes in the on-screen texts commenting on the footage? Perhaps reviving long-lost memories?

During my stay in Qasigiannguit, it turned out that the above-mentioned Paul M. Hansen was indeed known here and had been made an honorary citizen because he was the one who had discovered the enormous shrimp banks at the bottom of the Disko Bay. His discovery had laid the foundation for the shrimp fishing adventure in the area during the last 80 years, including the shrimp factory that had made Qasigiannguit such a lively town until the factory closed down in 1999. To my great fortune, I also had the time, after the screenings in Qasigiannguit, to view all the film material by Jette Bang together with the museum director and her husband. This turned out to be a fruitful experience that provided valuable knowledge about phenomena and places in

the films and rich insight stemming from the museum director's professional engagement with memory practices in Greenland.

In one of our initial conversations on the phone, the museum director had said to me, 'It's because you are bringing something valuable to us that I'm interested. You come here with the films, and you're not just another researcher who wants to exploit us as a stepping stone for your own career.' This was an experience that I heard people express on other occasions as well. A colleague who had worked with Greenlandic history for decades advised me, 'It's very important that you reach out to the Greenlandic broadcast media so that people know why you're there and what you are doing and that they are benefitting too. Nobody in the world has been investigated more by researchers than people in Greenland, and they never get to know the results of all these investigations.' Populations in the Arctic have been 'discovered' by numerous Danish and other polar expeditions, and at the local level people have many experiences of being objectified by researchers, photographers and film-makers[99], and on the institutional level, donors to international science projects always demand that there be a local partner, which has had the effect that Greenlandic museum professionals and university lecturers are much courted but are often only invited in at a late stage in the process when the projects are already defined. I therefore invested time and energy in promoting my fieldwork and every single public film screening properly and in appropriate media, ranging from mouth-to-mouth communication, Facebook postings and bills on the grocery store's notice boards to announcements in local newspapers, online and radio notifications, and an article in the national newspaper Sermitsiaq (Krebs 2012).

4.e. Complicity

One possible interpretation of the entire process of returning Jette Bang's films to all the local museums in Greenland, to the National Museum in Nuuk and to Ilisimatusarfik's library archives, is to regard it as a kind of 'trade' in which films are exchanged for knowledge. For the fieldworker, gaining access to the desired field is not always a straigthforward process (Bernard 1994:143ff; Spradley 1980:48ff), and bringing a gift, be it immaterial (enabling the informant(s)

[99] Because Jette Bang was one of the first of them in the 1930s, she has a remarkably good reputation, probably due to both her personal, empathic approach to the people she met, lived among and photographed and her close collaboration with a charismatic Greenlander, Hannibal Fencker.

to gain knowledge, prestige, support for a case, or other privileges), material (rather unusual, but always the case when repatriating or digitally returning museum objects or archival materials), or both (as in my case), may motivate gatekeepers and clear a way into the field. Even being 'good company' or an attentive listener may be conceived as a gift, once 'the ice is broken'. For the fieldworker, that is a fortunate position in the Mausian sense that gift-giving establishes a relationship that obligates the receiver to the donor (Mauss 2011). If this all sounds a bit opportunistic, I will stress that engaging through gifts in no sense impedes the exchange of knowledge nor the development of friendships. Rather, I perceive it to be an ethical imperative to recognize the various aspects of fieldwork relations and to unravel, in the course of the analysis, the implicit meanings involved in the exchange of 'gifts' between the fieldworker and her informants.

My Danish ethnicity was in a Greenlandic context a significant aspect but I will never be able to fully know its consequences on the level of interpersonal interaction. It may have prevented some people for engaging in interactions with me and it may have had an opposite effect on others, but as I was not confronting the general taboo of addressing directly these issues, it will not be possible for me to know if and when and how that happened.

I am in a better position to analyse my role as a researcher and when widening my perspective, I envision the films, the museum staff and myself as agentive elements – among other agentive elements – in a museum contact zone (Clifford 1997) where I share with the Greenlandic museum directors and workers an interest in memory practices, film elicitation and knowledge about certain phenomena and periods. They and I complicitly engaged in a project of making Jette Bang's film material, charged as it was with information and meanings referring to such phenomena as industrialization and colonialism, available to people in the areas where they had once been shot. George Marcus has described complicity as arising from a

> mutual curiosity and anxiety about their relationship to a 'third'[…] in creating the bond that makes their fieldwork relationship effective [… And] complicity here rests on the acknowledged fascination between anthropologist and informant regarding the outside 'world' that the anthropologist is specifically materializing through her travels and trajectory of her multi-sited agenda. (Marcus 1998:122)

The museum contact zone builds on museum collections from earlier times, which are now reorganized, reinterpreted, and renegotiated in 'an ongoing historical, political, moral relationship in a power-charged set of exchanges, push and pull,' (Clifford 1997:192). I conceived my project in a historical continuity with the developments in the relations between the National Museum of Denmark, the national and local museums in Greenland and the wider national and international contexts of these relations. As I mentioned in the introduction it is my sincere hope that my research may benefit Greenland in one sense or another. Although the humanities produce a less directly applicable kind of conclusions I perceive the management of history and memory to be a most powerful field in any nation with potentially strong impacts in a longer time perspective.

George Marcus likens the multi-sited researcher to a circumstantial activist, who finds him/herself

> […] with all sorts of crosscutting and contradictory personal commitments. These conflicts are resolved, perhaps ambivalently, not by refuge in being a detached anthropological scholar, but in being a sort of ethnographer-activist, renegotiating identities in different sites as one learns more about a slice of the world-system. (Marcus 1995:113)

In different sites, one enters into different roles; for instance, I have stepped in and out of identities as a museum colleague (in relation to the museum directors and workers), a university lecturer (in relation to students, staff, and academic colleagues at Ilisimatusarfik), a senior student (in relation to my fellow student from Ilisimatusarfik, with whom I stayed with in Ilulissat) and a kind of friend (to a handful of informants), while always and in every relationship remaining an ethnographer with constantly developing empiric insights and academic understandings as well as political and societal concerns that I occasionally aired and discussed with people. Balancing the space that self-reflexivity should occupy in the fieldworks and in the subsequent writing is both a matter of personal taste and of '[…] a vocational ethic… to combine two fundamental orientations toward reality – the engaged and the analytic – into a single attitude' (Clifford Geertz in Marcus 1998:91).

Much to my surprise there has, simultaneously with the progress of my project, in the last couple of years been a remarkable change among some Greenlandic museum workers and researchers

who now increasingly perceive of industrialization as a period worth communicating about. Participating in collective research networks I have complicitly promoted these development whereas they are certainly also inscribed in wider trends, ignited and nourished by forces in and outside of academia, in and outside of Greenland. For instance, together with a curator from the National Museum of Greenland, NKA[100], I participated in an international seminar in Ilulissat in August 2015 on industrial heritage in the Arctic, and for both of us, this event was an introduction to industrial heritage as a field of study. She shared our reflections with colleagues, and one year later, industrialization was inscribed into the plans for future exhibitions at NKA. Other instances include the opening in 2016 of a city museum in Nuuk that focuses on local history since the 1950s – the years normally known as 'modernization' in Greenland – just as an upcoming large-scale project includes conservation of, research into and communication about the remaining structures from a long-deserted industrial harbour that serviced the Faroese fishermen, Nordafar, until 1990.

4.f. Conversations and life histories

Along the way I developed an idea of introducing photographs for eliciting memories as well, which complemented my conversations and interviews in a very productive way. At my first meeting with a person I always asked them to sketch their life history and nudged them to elaborate on their memories of own agency and transitional stages in their lives, particularly the ones related to industrialization. With a small, select group of three informants[101] I met several times to collect their elaborate life histories (Ellen 1984:247ff). Life history collecting is a genre within qualitative analysis, the main strength of which is that the informant selects the events, reflects upon them, and assigns them values with minimal interference by the researcher's questions. The obvious advantages in such deep and detailed contextual insights should not lead us to forget that life histories are no less positioned in time and space than other memories. They often change over time and by retelling, and as noted by Ellen, 'there are many versions of a life history' (Ellen 1984:248). With this in mind, one may consider the information's interpretations and valorizations of her own life in relation to wider social relations a very rich source of anthropological data. I like to think of most of this data collecting as resulting from

[100] Nunatta Katersugaasivia Allagaateqarfialu (NKA), the National Museum and Archives of Greenland.
[101] I selected an informant from each of my three main analytical cases, one with life experiences from the fisheries, one from Qullissat and one who had worked in the Black Angel mine.

conversations rather than interviews, as I never conducted an interview in a simple format of questions and answers. My informants would not produce the rather 'soft' kind of data that I was out for in such an investigative format. Few people would reply in any sensible way to questions such as 'how do you remember the transitions to industrial society?' 'how did you experience your own agency in these years?' or even 'what have you forgotten when you tell me your memories?' Rather, I made a virtue out of establishing a kind of dialogue where, to larger or smaller degrees, depending on the situation, I also brought small stories or information into the conversation. Still, I always prepared for meeting with people, following up on our last interview or conversation and noting down a list of matters that I wanted our dialogue to address. In this sense, the format may be termed 'semi-structured interviews' in some instances and 'conversations' or 'dialogues' in others. I would also conduct participant observation at Ilisimatusarfik, among the university lecturers and students, among whom I recruited one, with whom I stayed for six weeks in Ilulissat, where she worked as an interpreter for me alongside working on her own bachelor project. I hired other interpreters ad hoc, which resulted in very different outcomes and fieldwork experiences.

4.g. Photo elicitation

In my fieldwork, such observations served as take-offs for conversations about the lives that people had lived and the events, people, and places that had been important to them. As an integral part of conversations, during which my informants told me their memories of transitions in their life experiences due to industrialization I watched their photographs on the walls or in their photo albums, the images that they showed me on their smartphones or posted on Facebook, and we talked about who had taken the photographs and under what conditions, or how they had been offered the photographs and what they meant to them today. In these informal conversations, spaces for the evocation of memories appeared, and the integration of the images that meant something to them became 'anchors of remembering processes' (Dijck 2007:12) in a kind of methodological process that could be termed 'a catalyst for the performance of memories' (Sandbye 2010:1), 'photo-interviewing' (Collier and Collier 1986:100), 'interview stimuli' (Wagner in Harper 2002:15), or, my preferred term, 'photo elicitation' (Harper 2002)[102].

[102] For a history of the development in anthropology and sociology of photo elicitation as a method, see Harper (2002).

Already in arranging my first appointment with an informant I asked the person whether she/he had photographs of her/his life that she/he would like to show me, whilst telling me her/his life history. I was careful to let my informants define what photographs they themselves found important. It differed widely how much importance and value people attached to their photographs, and they presented them to me in anything from neatly organized chronologies in albums and gold-framed decorations on walls to plastic folders with a few loose photographs, copies made on an ordinary copying machine, clippings from a magazine or smartphone photographs taken of photographic prints. In any case, I aimed at collecting information both on the content of the photographs and their contexts of creation and circulation. On the other hand, I also sought to balance the amounts of information against a relevance criterion based on the informants' emotional responses and the direction of their attention.

Elicitation research has, so far, almost solely been based on photographs, but as pointed out by Harper 'there is no reason studies cannot be done with paintings, cartoons, public displays such as graffiti or advertising billboards or virtually any visual image' (Harper 2002:13). Still, in the case of memory studies, photography is an extraordinary medium, and strong reactions may ensue from informants who recognize people in photographs, not least when it comes to archival photographs which have not been in the hands of the family or community before (Buijs 2010:18; Johnsen 2010:56–58). This is one of the important aspects in any project of returning visual material to source communities.

4.h. Film elicitation

Film screenings have been used by a limited but growing number of ethnographic film-makers, starting with the French pioneer Jean Rouch in the late 1950s, as a way of eliciting local knowledge by screening film recordings of people for themselves and receiving their feedback on these visual reflections of their lives (Harper 2002:14; Jørgensen 2002:57). Such feedback processes have mainly been used to improve the level of cross-cultural knowledge or to correct or supplement the ethnographic film in re-edited versions. My purpose of using another film photographer's recordings from another period is markedly different but shares their aspirations of exhausting all the communicative advantages of appealing to senses visually and with moving images. First, I expected that due to the common representational codes of memory and film, more open-ended conversations, including associations, emotions, and affect, would take place than if I had simply introduced myself and begun to ask questions. Second, in introducing archival films recorded in familiar places and potentially depicting familiar persons and

phenomena, I provided an opportunity for direct recognition. Third, by bringing in an attractive film material I was in the fortunate position of being able to offer something that might motivate people to engage in my project. Fourth and finally, as an outsider working in a society where social and cultural codes were partially unknown to me, I was in a similar situation to the film-maker who had shot the archival film. Thus, I expected that if her films reflected this foreignness, their screening would engender reactions that would help me better understand the contexts of both the film and the present everyday life of people in the Disko bay area.

4.i. Interpreters

I am indebted to my three interpreters because each of them not only performed literal but also, occasionally, cultural translation work for me. They became partners in my social interactions, and on a couple of occasions invited me out to a *kaffemik*, a birthday or anniversary party bringing some of the local choirs together. During our interviews, I was able to achieve unspoken understandings by observing their reactions to either an informant's actions or my proposals to act in certain ways.

I had originally planned to engage the student in all my interviews, but I soon realized that focus group interviews, presentations and public debates after film screenings required a professional interpreter. Many of my informants spoke Danish as well, and they generally became the ones with whom I related most directly. Due to the bilingual situation in Greenland, there are many interpreters available, and, if one is not available in a given situation, a layman may quickly and helpfully step in. However, I preferred to stick to as few as possible interpreters in order to develop a mutually understanding relation. My relationship with each of the interpreters varied considerably. One was a sort of apprentice of mine in conducting fieldwork, much younger than me and not always at ease with the intruding role, knocking on doors to foreign appartments and sometimes asking questions that might be conceived as private or provocative. Another was a 'walking encyclopedia' in local history and often offering unsolicited contacts or information but was also very busy. With the third interpreter, I had what I would describe a business-like relationship. Working with interpreters poses challenges to the more informal kinds of conversations and life history accounts that I preferred. I had to prepare interview guides that we would translate ahead of the interview, and in this process I lost much of the flexibility that comes from being able to follow up with nudging words, gestures, and sounds as well as follow-up questions. I had to accept a certain loss of control over the process, and especially in the beginning of I often came home quite frustrated after an interview conducted via an interpreter.

On the other hand, when we later translated and transcribed the interviews together, I often realized that there were more stories and information than I had been able to grasp during the actual interview.

4.j. Anonymity

In small-scale societies, the complete depersonalization of all informants is hardly possible, even if I changed both the name and other identifying data. I have decided to change all the names, however, as that will impede the most immediate recognition. In the beginning of a first conversation with a person, I always introduced myself and my project and then stated that I would anonymize their participation in this way. Some objected that they had nothing to hide and that they would be recognized anyway, but I maintained the same procedure in any case. In accordance with the prescripts of Copenhagen University, I keep a list of these names and aliases, just as I safekeep my video and sound recordings and transcripts. In the rare cases when I was entrusted personally sensitive information I deleted it from my data.

4.k. Gaining access

Before conducting my main fieldwork in Ilulissat I planned to engage a group of informants in a comparative experiment of telling their life histories and then, on a later date, watch the films and recount their stories in order to observe the effects of the film screenings. Thus, before I travelled to Ilulissat, I tried to establish contact with future informants by emailing the directors and teachers in the two schools in town. I proposed to engage their pupils in a historical project based on family histories and establishing an initial contact with a few families who could become my key informants and take part in the experiment. Despite repeated emails and a few friendly but non-committal replies, this plan never materialized, just as two other attempts to establish contact with former mining workers by emailing municipal authorities also failed. I realized that my emails were largely wasted, and that a more efficient way of establishing contact would be face-to-face encounters.

As described in the Introduction, I had selected the two sectors of mining and fishery as the main objects of my analysis. I soon realized that conducting interviews with fishermen or fishing plant workers differs considerably from interviewing mining workers. I had to fight very hard to establish contact with the former, and I sensed that they did not see any point in talking with me. My interest in people who had worked in the mines met with much more understanding, and I wondered if the omnipresence of the fishing industry in Greenland perhaps made people think

that memories from this sector would be trivial. Another barrier was probably that few fishermen speak Danish fluently, in contrast to the mining workers, who are used to working in an international setting and all mastered Danish to perfection and often English as well. On the sea, there are only Greenlandic fishermen. Further, I ended up spending many days waiting in vain due to varying weather conditions. If weather allowed, nobody stayed home but went out for two days or more to do their job. Eventually, and with the help of friends of friends, I did, however, manage to meet with a number of fishermen and people who had worked in fishing plants. When these conversations were finally arranged, I often found that these informants, mainly men, would talk for a long time about their memories.

4.l. Sampling, sites, geographies

I originally anticipated conducting fieldworks on three geographical locations in Greenland: first, in the southern town of Arsuk, close to where a large cryolite mine was operative and highly significant to the Greenlandic economy for decades, until it closed in 1987; second, in the Disko Bay area where I would meet numerous former and present workers in the industrial fishery industry; and third, in Nuuk, for the reasons discussed above. However, after conducting pilot fieldworks in Qasigiannguit and some 150 km further south, in Sisimiut, in March and April 2014, it was clear to me that apart from the Nuuk fieldworks, I would find informants from all relevant businesses in the Disko Bay area. In particular, it was increasingly clear to me that the mines in Qullissat and the Black Angel/Maarmorilik would be more relevant than the southern mine, Ivittuut (since Ivittuut was run almost solely with Danish manpower), and that I would therefore be likely to find all the informants that I could wish for in the Disko Bay area, mainly in Ilulissat. I decided that all my informants should be residents in Greenland, both currently and during the period we would be talking about[103].

[103] Memories of former Danish mining workers is an undeveloped and potentially interesting research field that may provide useful knowledge about how to organize the international labour forces that characterize the mining industry. Former workers from Maarmorilik have an active network on Facebook and meet twice a year. A 'memory community' such as this would, however, only be indirectly relevant to this research project, as my focus here is on how memories influence narratives and discourses in Greenland today.

4.m. Conclusion

My multi-sited approach has resulted in a production of a range of different types of fieldwork data including narrative life-histories, observations of interactions and of reactions to films and photographs, interviews and analysis of media products. I have continually used these different kinds of knowledge to build up my understanding of how my informants and the Greenlandic societies remember industrialization.

My analysis of memory practices about the fishing and mining industries relate to my fieldwork in the museums environments in Greenland, and now, after expounding my methodologies and my toolbox of methods, I first turn my analytical attention towards the presentations of industrial pasts in this field.

Chapter 5: The industrial past in the Greenlandic present

> There is no political power without control of the archive, if not of memory. Effective democratization can always be measured by this essential criterion: the participation in and the access to the archive, its constitution, and its interpretation.
>
> (Derrida 1995:11)

In chapter 4 I described the multi-sited field of my analysis and my methodological avenues into it. I now proceed to the analysis of my main research question: how do people in Greenland remember industrialization, including their own roles and their room for agency during these decades of seminal socio-cultural changes? My analysis proceeds through four interconnected chapters, of which this first one provides a picture of the physical and mental spaces that collective memories of industrialization occupy in Greenland, mainly in museums but also in memorials and in the official reconciliation commission that was constituted during my fieldwork.

First, I analyse the space made available to industrialization in museums. Comprised in this analysis are reflections on the role of local and national museums in relation to the rest of society as collective and professional memory archives, which co-produce, reproduce and sometimes redirect discourses. Even though the role of museums in people's memory works should not be overestimated, I conclude that even for those considerable parts of the local population who never set foot in a museum, these are still considered valued institutions and significant cultural tools (Wertsch 2002). People trust memory institution as museums and archives to handle their memories professionally, and they feed previously personal cultural memories into the collective cultural memory that these institutions preserve, process and present to their audiences. In other words, 'Every act of memory involves a negotiation between the boundaries of the private and the public spheres' (Dijck 2007:13).

I analyse how industrialization is reflected in four local museums, in Qasigiannguit, Sisimiut, Ilulissat and Qeqertarsuaq, and then compare them with exhibitions in Nunatta Katersugaasivia

Allagaateqarfialu[104] in Nuuk in order to present a comprehensive picture of the museums' communication on this topic. My analysis will demonstrate and reflect upon a significant difference: the local museums have sections on industrial fisheries, and a few have special sections about mining, whereas industrialization as a separate topic is largely absent at NKA. This observation leads me to reflect on museum exhibitions as 'cultural tools' (Wertsch 2002:55 ff), created by and co-creating discourses. My conclusion is that exhibitions are 'cultural tools' for rather different objectives at the national and local levels, respectively.

Progressing from this preliminary conclusion I examine the discourses on industrialization, or 'modernization', as articulated around the currently active reconciliation commission. Greenland is facing immense social challenges with alarming rates of suicide, violence and abuse. I describe how these issues are linked with modernization and industrialization and how memory works, both those orchestrated by the reconciliation commission and those practiced by individuals, deal with the contrasting emotions of shame and pride or, at least, self-respect.

5.a. Industrial spaces in local museums

One section in Qasigiannguit Museum tells the story of Qasigiannguit's heyday as a shrimp fishing town[105]. When I visited the exhibitions with the museum director and her assistant, they pointed out what they considered flaws:

> Museum director: There are many things that we lack in our exhibition. For instance, our costumes; we do have the national gowns, but what about the clothes from the 1960s? The nylon stockings and the dresses that the women wore?
> Museum assistant: Nobody wore pants. They always wore nylon stockings. And then they froze stiff, and the stockings got stuck on the skin.

We all shivered at the thought, laughing, and realizing that the impractical fashion for young women was just one of the vivid memories that were left out of the exhibitions, which favoured

[104] Eng.: Greenlandic Museum & Archive (NKA), Da.: Grønlands Nationalmuseum & Arkiv.
[105] Functioning from 1952, the shrimp factory bought up 12–13 tons of shrimp every day from more than 50 fishing cutters and provided jobs for hundreds of people and, during the summer months, some additional 80 female and almost as many male seasonal workers from North and East Greenland. Read more about the history of the town in Chapter 2.

more traditional costumes and in so doing even ignored, as suggested by the director, that womens' national costumes have a long and interesting history of dynamic transformation. The museum director and I shared an interest in focusing much more on the years of industrialization, which did not occupy much space in the current exhibitions. The director had asked the former shrimp shellers what they remembered from their workplaces, and they had replied, 'Brown … and plastic doors.' The director then collected some of the brown tiles and a solid plastic curtain from the ruin of the last standing building of the fishing factory and made it a part of the museum's installation. 'Apart from that, nothing has been preserved. Nobody thought about making that history available in a museum,' she explained[106]. Still, the industrial 'shrimp adventure' is reflected in one room where visitors may enter a shrimp cutter's narrow control room, equipped with notebooks, a compass etc. and, on the floor, some trawls and a huge wooden object, a *qalut* used for scraping shrimps off the seabed. Large banners with photo prints from the work on the deck of the cutter, a screen with film, some jars for the preserved shrimps on a shelf and a fragmental remnant of the original shrimp factory with the brown tiles and the plastic curtain. In these reconstructed spaces, older local visitors are invited to dwell on their memories, while tourists and the younger generations sense a glimpse of a former way of life.

This industrial section is rather modest in proportions, and Qasigiannguit Museum is primarily known for two other topics. One is the museum's 'Live Settlement' summer activities, where local volunteers and museum workers re-enact reconstructed scenes from the Thule culture during an early contact period with incipient European influences for the public; the other is the museum's prominent exhibition about the first people in Greenland, the Saqqaq culture, which showcases archaeological finds[107] from excavations at nearby Qeqertasussuk. Smaller sections in the museum include a collection of stuffed birds, colonial and Greenlandic costumes, hunting equipment and a kathechist's school room, among other features.

In the exhibitions at Sisimiut Museum, the representational means are slightly different, and so

[106] Interestingly, she added that she was often in doubt as to what the function of a museum is in a society such as this, which has only limited concern for issues of materiality and ownership.
[107] Including, curiously, the oldest known *kamik* in Greeenland.

are the stories to be told. Industrial fisheries started early in Sisimiut,[108] and there is a long and proud tradition of entrepreneurship that is reflected in people's sense of local identity. The exhibitions feature models of, respectively, Greenland's first fish factory (1924), its first canning factory (1924), and its shipyard, which was operational from 1931. These are charmingly exhibited in showcases, and among other showcases with older models of a turf house, a summer camp and hunting of shark and seal on the sea ice in 1909, all produced by the well-known artist Gert Lyberth (1867–1929). Other objects in this section include hunting gear and a whaling harpoon. The original smithy from the shipyard has been preserved and is on display in another building. The museum has large collections of seagoing vessels in two cold storehouses, as it has a particular national obligation to maintain and preserve objects from Greenland's trade and shipping history. Proportionally significant, the exhibition of (mainly) industrial culture occupies one storey in the former colonial officer's residence, and it is the largest industrial exhibition in any of the five museums that I collaborated with. Other exhibitions in the museum showcase the archaeological finds from excavations of remains from the prehistoric Saqqaq people, a wooden church (Greenland's oldest and itself a part of the museum) and its paraphernalia, a turf hut and rooms for temporary exhibitions.

At Qeqertarsuaq Museum, the industrial way of life is only indirectly reflected, as the museum's highlights concern the town's significant position related to the early colonial administration[109] and clergy, to whaling, to the town's important research station and to the traditional hunting culture, as represented in an outstanding collection of watercolours by the local artist Jakob Danielsen. My search for representations of industrialized ways of working was only successful in one room, which depicted a cooper and joiner's workshop, including, in a corner, a carbamide lamp used in the former mine in Qullissat. Ilulissat Museum, which I discuss below, had more comprehensive exhibitions on both industrial fisheries and mining in Qullissat. Based on my analysis of the exhibitions in these four local museums I concluded that they all, albeit to very varying extent, allocated some space for industrial ways of life and work.

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[108] It is commonly known that it was a group of Sisimiormiut (people from Sisimiut) who, as the first Greenlanders, as early as 1928, pooled their funds and bought their own fishing vessel, 'Nakuak'.
[109] Qeqertarsuaq was the capital of North Greenland and the seat of one of the two Greenlandic parliaments until 1953.

5.b. Exhibitions as cultural tools

The local museums seemed to serve as what Wertsch termed 'cultural tools' (Wertsch 2002:13), embedding and embedded in local history and serving as places of reference for local identification. Their exhibitions reflected a material history of a specific place and its inhabitants, and in many cases the narratives were built around a single or a few outstanding townsmen who now shed glory on their town. The spatial organization of the museums and the often very long duration of their exhibitions tend to blur the fact that museums and exhibitions are created by subjective individuals and always based on certain intentions. Several layers of intentions and ideas may be reflected, one on top of the other, in an exhibition that has been adjusted, reinterpreted and reorganized by varying museum directors over time. Ilulissat Museum was the base for my longest-lasting fieldwork, and I am therefore in a good position, in the analysis of its exhibitions that I am now going conduct, to relate its exhibitions to the people who have contributed to them, most notably one former museum director, even though she resigned in 2010, and I only know about her from hearsay[110]. Despite being an outsider to the local community, this Danish anthropologist, who held the position for around ten years[111], had obviously managed to incorporate multiple local perspectives and balance the available narratives and concerns for both local and international audiences[112]. In the exhibitions, one may read a clear intention of creating room for narratives in which Greenlanders have been agents, and they appear as such in displays about industrial developments in both the fisheries and the mining sector. In the section about the Denmark Expedition it is not only the famous and half-Danish polar explorer Knud Rasmussen who is honoured but also two other local expedition members[113], Jørgen Brønlund and Tobias Gabrielsen.

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[110] I supplemented this with available information on the internet, such as http://www.museum.gl/dk/nannafo/artikel.htm and http://www.altinget.dk/kandidater/kv13/Kirsten-Strandgaard?show=cv

[111] Since 2010, the museum had undergone a turbulent history of very briefly employed directors or lengthy vacancies, and the current director was an assistant who, somewhat reluctantly, had accepted to be appointed acting daily manager. After my fieldworks, a townswoman, educated at Ilisimatusarfik, has been appointed director.

[112] Ilulissat is the city in Greenland that receives the largest numbers of tourists, and even though the majority of them come here to experience the dramatic scenery, most also take their time to visit at least this museum and often also the local art museum.

[113] The legacy of the Denmark Expedition has been widely debated. The expedition re-mapped the north-easternmost corner of Greenland but cost the lives of Brønlund, expedition leader Ludvig Mulius-Erichsen and a third expedition member, Niels Peter Høeg Hagen.

Two back rooms totalling about 25 square metres are devoted to exhibitions about the colonial and industrial history of Jakobshavn (Ilulissat). Here is a section with the Royal Greenlandic Trade manager's office, another with books, drawings and a blackboard and other school paraphernalia, a grocer's desk and wares, a section with clothes worn by the catechist and the colonial officers and their families, a section on the mining city of Qullissat and its closure in 1972 and a section about longline fishing from dogsled on the sea ice, iconic to the Disko Bay area, and the modern fish factories in Ilulissat. In the corner stands a mannequin dressed like any of the fishermen one meets in Ilulissat, in blue Kansas-brand overalls, lined cap with ear flaps, black and orange gumboots and a plastic carrier bag from the local grocer's with ads for fizzy drink brands 'Squash' and 'Faxe Kondi' .

A sign on the wall astutely states that, 'from the 1950s on, the bread-and-butter is halibut and shrimps – and, lately, tourists. They may all be caught close to the Icefiord.'[114] A graph illustrates the explosive growth of Ilulissat in the 1950s[115] and 1960s, and maps illustrate how people have come into the area over the past 4000 years, settling for periods of time while food was available and then moving on again. The exhibition stresses this aspect of resilience, and one can only read it as a sort of explanatory context to the case of the former mining city of Qullissat, whose history has its own section just beside the posters with statistics of population movements. Qullissat, some 90 km north of Ilulissat, was a lively mining city for almost 50 years. The reasons for closing the mine were strongly contested, and the closure turned into a potent symbol of capitalist and/or Danish dominance. The closing of Qullissat has left a strong imprint along the entire west coast of Greenland, especially in the towns of Ilulissat, Qeqertarsuaq and Qasigiannguit, where streets or areas have been named after Qullissat[116], as the appropriately 1,200 former workers and their families were scattered along the coast. I will analyse the memory practices related to Qullissat further in Chapter 7; in the present context, I focus on the way in which Ilulissat Museum communicates the history of the city. Jette Bang's photographs of the workers in the mine from the 1930s, a suitcase with personal belongings, notebooks, coal

[114] My translation from the Danish: 'Fra 1950erne og fremefter er det hellefisk og rejer – og sidst turister – der giver "kød på bordet". Og de fanges alle i nærheden af Isfjorden."
[115] Produced around 1998, the graph most optimistically extrapolated the exponential growth and anticipated Illussat to reach 5,000 inhabitants by 2000, and 6,000 by 2010. In fact, the curve flattened and seems to have stagnated around 4,500 inhabitants.
[116] 'Qullissat Aqquserna' translates into 'Qullissat Near'.

coupons and postage stamps, a dusty green Husqvarna sewing machine, a portable record player, a carbide lamp, a safety helmet and knee pads and a 35-mm film projector. These are objects that speak of an everyday life where arrivals and departures were common, where, at an early stage, modern conveniences and technologies were plentiful, and where links to the rest of the world were numerous, compared to the rest of Greenland. Prominently, an exhibition text states in Greenlandic, Danish and English[117] that 'In 1966, Qullissat is Greenland's sixth-largest city, 1,400 people live here, all newcomers, no old and dominant families […] A city of workers, not a fishermen-and-hunters' town, the first Greenlandic trade union was established here,'[118] and it then continues to describe how people were forced to move in 1972. I observed how, for the local audiences, these references to known worlds, both past and present, offer room for immediate recognition and identification. Curiously, it was only by my invitation that two of my informants, who had lived in Qullissat, entered the exhibitions. They had never been aware that there were things from Qullissat here, but when they saw it, they had an enjoyable moment with the photographs of the miners working and eating in their canteen. They studied all the texts thoroughly, and the old Karoline bent down and grabbed the carbamide lamp, as if it was her own. Serving as 'umbilical cords' (Barthes in Hirsch 2008:111) indexically connecting the present and the past, the photographs and objects clearly made her feel 'at home' and enjoy a moment of recollection.

Other rooms in the museum are devoted, as mentioned, to Knud Rasmussen, who was born and raised here, with paintings and documents and a fully equipped dogsled including a stuffed dog; to an exhibition about climate change; and to an exhibition about excavations at the nearby prehistoric settlement of Sermermiut. Not surprisingly, I observed that these sections appealed more to the international audiences, even though there was no clear dividing line.

[117] All texts in the museum are in Greenlandic, Danish and English.
[118] My translation from the Danish: 'Qullissat er i 1966 Grønlands 6. største by, her bor 1400 mennesker, alle er tilflyttere, ingen dominerende gamle familier […] En arbejder by, ingen fisker-fanger by, Grønlands første fagforening dannes her.'

5.c. The local museum as a community memory archive

For any museum, the framing of its exhibitions is at least as important as the content. Visitors have hundreds of different reasons for visiting a museum, which may include such matters as physical accessibility and previous knowledge about the museum in its totality, as an institution, as a material structure, as locally embedded (or not) through its personnel and as accounted in the narratives surrounding it. Centrally situated in the towns, almost all Greenlandic local museums are installed in former colonial buildings,[119] and in that sense they serve as a spatial continuation of a postcolonial contact zone. This is reflected in the staff in almost all the local museums, the leaders often being educated in, born in or in other respects closely related to Denmark, and the rest of the staff being local. I have not investigated with any methodological rigour what this means to people, but for some it may pose emotional obstacles for feeling at home here, while for others it may have the opposite effect. Still, despite the fact that many people never set foot in the local museum, it seems to meet some of the expectations of the local community.

Anthropologist James Clifford has suggested that one aspect of why museum practices are successful is that they 'resonate with a broad range of vernacular activities of collecting, display, and entertainment. Accumulating and displaying valued things is, arguably, a very widespread human activity not limited to any class or cultural group' (Clifford 1997:217). Throughout my fieldworks I came to see local museums as such local memory archives; reservoirs of memorabilia such as objects, diaries, testimonies, photographs etc. that had been collected by the museum or handed in by private citizens with an expectation that they would be preserved and appropriately cared for. As the experienced director of Qasigiannguit Museum was well aware, the continued availability of these donations was not a given. On the contrary, when people came to hand in photographs, their old schoolbooks, film or tape cassettes, they did so because the museum continuously signalled an interest in these artefacts. Through its activities, the museum indicates to the local community what kinds of artefacts it is interested in.

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[119] The building that houses Ilulissat Museum today formerly served as a teachers' college and as the residence of the priest. It was situated in the area with the largest concentration of Danish residents during the 18th and 19th centuries. The area was also home to the hospital, the church of Zion, the doctor's house with its greenhouse annex and a dozen other wooden houses for Danish officials. These buildings are still there today, all beautifully situated on a meadow with plenty of cotton grass in the summer, stretching down to the shores of the Icefiord, with its huge ice blocks slowly gliding by.

When these material artefacts are handed in to the local museum the donor is encouraged to provide as much information as possible about them. For instance, while I was at the museum in Qasigiannguit, a man, Jens, came in to hand in two candleholders from the chapel in the settlement Akugdlit, which was now abandoned. Jens accompanied them with the following words:

> Jens: I want to tell you what my father told me, to the best of my ability, but it's a long time ago, so I cannot be a hundred per cent sure that I'm using the same words as he used when he told me, or whether I wind up making some of it up. I shall do my best.
> Museum director: That's how our memory works. We're used to that, we remember some things, but we also add a bit.
> Jens: My father, Karl Olsvig, and Peter Møller came here from Akugdlit to work as sled drivers for Jette Bang, to the rim of the ice cap, in 1936. That year, there was no ice here, so they had to sail the sleds and the dogs from Akugdlit and up here….[120]

The narration continues, and the incident reveals significant traits that characterize the local museum as an archive:
1) People expect it to serve as a store for material objects of significance and to care for these in two respects: physical protection against disappearing or getting damaged by excessively humid, dry, hot or cold or – worst of all – fluctuating conditions; and protection against their meanings being forgotten by the world, a concern that requires contextualization and proper registration.
2) The museum is expected to know more about historical objects than laymen do. Hence, the museum archives represent an opportunity for synthesizing meaning across individual testimonies or artefacts and extracting meanings, trends and connections on a collective level.
3) The museum serves as a link between the past of a specific area and the present, including people's expectations about the future.
4) When museums record and store vernacular narratives, it is acknowledged that memory narratives may include elements of fiction.

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[120] My translation from the Danish.

In other words, when the museum serves as an archive it does so in both material and mental dimensions. People trust that they can deposit their memories here, and that these will be handled carefully and salvaged from oblivion in a grand collective memory of the community as a whole. Another example of a local resident handing in an object was accounted to me by Nukannguaq, a fisherman and former hunter from Ilulissat. He showed me a photograph - placed in a frame in the middle of all his most precious family photographs and memory objects - which portrayed him in his kayak as a young hunter in Saqqaq. He explained:

> When the winter gets cold we use a *tuiliit,* which is a special anorak. It is waterproof. It is used for kayaking in the winter, never in the spring, and it's the kind that our forefathers used, the great hunters. [121]

Nukannguaq told me that some years ago, he had handed this *tuiliit* in to the local museum in Ilulissat, on his own initiative, and that they had then put it on display. Now, because the museum was too warm, the manager had removed it for conservation in a storehouse[122]. His wife, Doris, went out and came back with an *avataq*, a folded balloon made from the stomach of a narwhale with a harpoon head made of walrus tooth attached to it (Image 1). She demonstrated how the harpoon head would cut trough the sealskin and become fixed in the body so that the stretched-out balloon would float after the seal and prevent it from sinking as Nukannguaq dragged the animal home after his *kayak*. Doris explained:

> This is the only thing among all the kayak equipment that I have kept. I gave so much away. I kept it because it has brought us so much happiness, every time he arrived with the seal and the avataq made it float[123].

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[121] Interview no. 17a. R 00_0022, 00:37:54. A *tuiliit* is a special anorak made of sealskin. It covers the chest and is fastened to the *kayak*.
[122] I actually saw it there a few weeks later, together with a *kayak* and other hunting gear. Truly, the present exhibitions in the museum's limited premises did not have room for a fair display of *kayak* hunting.
[123] Interview no. 17a. R 00_0022, 00:40:39.

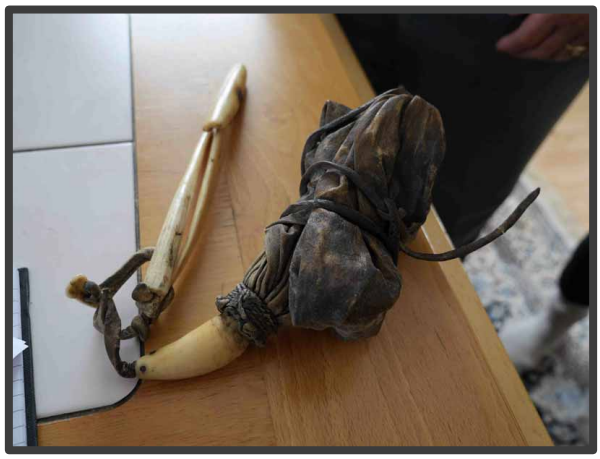

Image 1.

Together with a walrus skull and a polar bear skull, this was the only material artefact from Nukannguaq's innumerable hunting trips that they had kept for themselves. They had been aware of the value of keeping such hunter's equipment as material testimonies of a tradition that was no longer practiced by anybody, but which had once played such a prominent role in the area. I am in chapter 8 going to elaborate on the hunter figure as a nodal point (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002:4) in the cultural heritage discourse that is perceived as authentic and embedding the emotion of pride.

5.d. Personal cultural memory practices

In Jan Assmann's terms, an act such as handing in an *avataq* is an expression of cultural memory, and Nukannguaq would be considered an elite member of the community, capable of reflecting on the best way to represent relevant memory through selected artefacts and possessing the communicative means to do so. Now, as will become clear in Chapter 8, as the patriarch in a trawler fishing family and a former local politician, Nukannguaq actually did belong to Ilulissat's elite, but there are certainly also less prominent citizens who participate in this kind of museum activities. I find that Jan Assmann's model of cultural memory misses the diversity of cultural memory production, which, I have observed, is not confined to particular groups in Greenlandic society. In Chapter 3, I have advocated, instead, for a perspective that views memory practices as acts in which the individual perceives the world through cultural categories (Dijck 2007; Halbwachs 1992). Van Dijck's central concept of 'personal cultural memory' (Dijck 2007:2ff) is my main key to understanding the relationship between the social, the collective and the cultural. Some may think that as social and cultural scholars, we should leave it to the neuroscientists, psychologists and cognitive theorists to deal with personal

memories and confine our work to the collective level. For instance, if Nukannguaq hands in his hunting equipment to Ilulissat Museum, should we not just focus on it as a relevant collective memory? Is not 'personal cultural memory' a contradiction in terms?

However, anthropology has gained important insights from studying the tension between the personal and the cultural domains, and so may the field of anthropological memory. Psychologists have explained how we use autobiographical memory to construct a sense of self that posits us as social beings, and van Dijck has added to this a cultural sense of self[124], defined as our ability to 'make contrasts between the ideal self portrayed by the culture and the actual self as understood' (Dijck 2007:3). Through narratives, visuals or objects we communicate our memories to the world, and as we attach meaning and values to them they become 'cultural tools' (Wertsch 2002:13). In such memory practices, meanings and values are negotiated, discourses articulated, and the very boundaries between the personal and the collective defined. According to van Dijck, 'the role (media) objects play in the process of remembering remains largely unexamined' (Dijck 2007:4), and this dissertation may be perceived as an ambition to contribute to that field.

When Nukannguaq hands in his hunting gear to the museum, his action reflects that he recognizes himself as a culture-producing person. He affirms the meanings and values that are attached to a discourse on the Greenlandic hunter, and he understands himself in the light of this. To Nukannguaq, the concept of a museum is integrated in his concept of the world, and he would not have thought about the *avataq* as a preservation-worthy testimony of past practices had it not been for his upbringing in a society that carries out museum practices which link artefacts with memory. Nukannguaq and Doris felt that they had done their duty by handing in these hunting items. They had incorporated the museum memory practice and participated in the reproduction of the cultural memory of the traditional hunter. The relevance of the local museums rests on this concept of a museum as a dynamic community memory archive. Even despite the paradox expressed by one museum assistant: 'The museum means a lot to people in this town. They would miss it if it wasn't here. But they don't come here.'[125]

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[124] Van Dijck here refers to psychologist Katherine Nelson (Dijck 2007:3).
[125] Quote from field notes 04 April 2014. My translation from the Danish.

While the local museum professionals may see the value in exhibiting objects that support narratives of local industrial developments, Nukannguaq and Doris never considered handing in nets from their trawlers, gumboots, cell phones or radios. This illustrates two significant aspects of the museums' 'passive collecting' (that is, when people volunteer objects and archival documents on their own initiative). First, that things are only handed in when they are no longer functional: photo albums which contain only unknown faces and bodies, furniture and instruments that people no longer have room for, films stored on out-dated media, objects that are no longer useful or decorative in people's homes. Objects that are still in use are not handed in, even when they might have a significant story to tell about the past, and it takes a museum professional, such as the former director of Ilulissat Museum, to collect the costume of a present-day fisherman, or the nylon stockings that the director in Qasigiannguit hoped to be able to find and exhibit one day. Second, local museums, as Clifford (1997:216ff) wrote, are well suited to emphasize distinctiveness in local practices. The materiality of industrial development almost only brings up fairly universally applied, and hence less distinctive objects, to museum exhibitions.

Ilulissat Museum's cold storehouse, until a few years ago a museum of hunting and fishing, is now packed with old exhibitions of impressive marine engines, a lathe, a board with hundreds of keys, a baker's oven and numerous other early industrial objects from the town in the 1960s. A dozen boats and kayaks, Nukannguaq's *tuiliit*, and six wooden boxes containing children's drawings from the former school in Qullisssat. These and many, many other objects rested here as in a huge tangible storage memory collection. When I asked why these objects are not accessible to the public I was told that there were no means to reopen that section of the museum. However, even given such pragmatic considerations, what is exhibited is a question of prioritizing, based on more or less conscious, pragmatic and collective concerns. In the local context, the machines, vehicles and vessels collected here may be conceived as a material manifestation of storage memory, corresponding to mental storage memory in the minds of the generations who lived through the decades of industrialization. The exhibitions that are available to the public, correspondingly, are what has been selected to become functional memory (J.Assmann 2011:128) which in Assmann's conceptualization, as outlined in Chapter 4, means that it should strive to fulfil the three tasks of legitimizing a certain group identity, delegitimizing alternatives and making the given imagined community distinctive.

It may not be easy to define distinctiveness and identity in connection with living conditions that are marked by industrial and globalizing trends. While preparing this exhibition about how the colonial contact zone and industrial developments changed people's lives, the former museum director in Ilulissat and her team concluded on a signboard in the exhibition that '1850 to 1950 was a period of cultural and economic decline in Greenland. The traditional way of life belonged to the past – the new has not yet been found.'[126] In my optic, this is a simplifying dichotomization, and I actually find that the local museums, perhaps with less professional, but often multi-voiced, multi-elemental and multi-facetted exhibitions, in their entanglement with local practices to a high degree manage to offer their local audiences significant points for new identification strategies.

5.e. Industrial spaces and national cultural heritage

In NKA, Nunatta Katersugaasivia Allagaateqarfialu, in Nuuk the focus is on national identity. Most of the exhibitions communicate clearly and informatively how three main migratory movements over the past 3500 years have inhabited the huge island and what roles material objects played for these people. Colonial history also has a section with installations of the interiors of a Greenlandic turf hut and a colonial officer's living room around 1900, with a selection of costumes and (fortunately!) outdated medical instruments. The newest permanent exhibition, 'Communication', focuses on the development of the telegraph and telecommunication in general, the printing press, the introduction of film as an entertainment industry and other technologies. These two latter exhibitions cover periods that overlap with the very earliest decades of industrialization in Greenland.

The fact that there are only sporadic references to industrialization seems to reflect a division of labour that has assigned the representation of industrial history to the local museums and the most prominent prehistory to the national level. Perhaps it reflects national museum policies, perhaps it results from choices made by individual museum curators, or perhaps it is a result of more pragmatic conditions, given that climate and temperature regulation requires expensive

[126] My translation from the Danish: '1850 til 1950 er en kulturel og økonomisk nedgangstid i Grønland. Det traditionelle liv var passé – det nye er ikke fundet endnu'.

installations[127]. In any case, it creates an image of national cultural heritage as something prehistoric, pre-modern and pre-industrial. The exhibitions are modelled on a narrative template (Wertsch 2009:129) about the traditional hunter and his wife living in a subsistence economy[128], finely attuned with the Arctic surroundings, and it is the hunter's technologies and cosmology that are most prominently on display in the museum[129].

NKA's exhibitions are produced against a backdrop of available memories in its stores and archives, and several alternative functionalized memories could have come into being and will in the future, if they are considered relevant for national identification (A.Assmann 2011). The legitimacy of this national storage memory is formally uncontested, whereas the general population has a more ambiguous perception of national archives, because they are a product of historical processes of colonization and decolonization. At a conference at the University of Copenhagen in 2015, archivist Inge Høst Seiding of Nunatta Allagaateqarfia[130] explained that the archives are cherished as a national symbol, yet at the same time, 'As an archivist, I often detect a more or less outspoken mistrust in the records – even those from the historically postcolonial period.' She explained that there seemed to be a distance to '"real" or, maybe rather, relevant history,' and that there is a much larger proportion of Danish rather than Greenlandic researchers benefiting from the services of the archives. Seiding experienced a parallel trend in the exhibitions of the National Museum in Nuuk, which in her view represent a focus on 'appearance, detail and hard facts in the archaeological exhibitions as contrary to the historical ones.'

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[127] Qasigiannguit museum is the only exception. Here, the team behind the prominent Qeqertasussuk excavations put pressure on NKA, which then decided to make an exception to the regulations and keep the main part of these oldest material remains of life in Greenland.

[128] The fact that the hunter is always a male person makes the focus on the hunter's figure disturbing in a gender perspective, I maintain it, however, as it is a term employed by my informants. We may rather think of the hunter as the halfpart of an interdependent working relationship in which the hunter's wife played a role as important as his with cleaning and processing the skin, cooking and preserving the meat, taking care of the children and the household etc. In the Danish translation the significance of the Arctic 'hunter' (da.: fanger) is different from a hunter elsewhere (da.: jæger) and the term refers to a person who practices both hunting and fishing.

[129] This is echoed in much Greenlandic design and art, and, for instance, in the logos of some of Greenland's enterprises where the hunters' figure stands out, in silhouette, lending its aura of authenticity to other national institutions such as KNR and Ilisimatusarfik (University of Greenland).

[130] National Archives of Greenland. Archivist Inge Høst Seiding, paper at the 'Declare Independence' Conference at University of Copenhagen, 5–6 November 2015.

'If it is obvious that colonial archives are products of state machines, it is less obvious that they are, in their own right, technologies that bolstered the production of those states themselves,' Stoler (2002:98) has pointed out. Therefore when a former colony inherits its archives from the former colonizer, as is the case with the Greenlandic archives, it is not surprising that such a bank of national memory does not always fit into the national self-image[131]. At the NKA, increasing attention is currently being directed towards alternative memories to those in the colonial archives. Since 2008, intangible cultural heritage has been a priority area, and the curators have decided to collect alternative narratives to 'the historical source material, which was overwhelmingly produced by a colonial power that did not master the language of the country. In the mid 19th century, there were still two parallel cultures in Greenland: the indigenous Inuit culture and the Danish-influenced Greenlandic culture. It would be reasonable to assume that there was an Inuit counterculture to the official Greenlandic-Danish culture. There is a lack of research on this counterculture – and the development from the pre-colonial culture towards the encounter of the European culture and the influences therefrom' (Thorleifsen 2016:322)[132]. One may object that efforts in this direction have actually been made: Kirsten Thisted has been rereading both 'along and against the grain' of the archives (Stoler 2002:100–101; Stoler 2009)[133] and critically looked for local perspectives, tracing such counter-narratives in the archival sources and in Greenlandic-language literature (see for instance Thisted 2014c). Still, there is definitely room for more research in the area. NKA's most visible response to this situation is the priority given to intangible cultural heritage with the assignation of a curator to this area and with the targeted efforts made at proposing topics to the UNESCO Committee. In February 2015, the deputy director announced that 35 topics had been identified on which the museum now collected documentation. These included a particular naming practice, drum dancing, a list of specific traditional proverbs, taboos and social conventions. This strategy

[131] As a product of the current reorientation, NKA has in recent years English and Greenlandic as the languages used in exhibitions, at the exclusion of Danish. This has occasionally led to strong reactions from former Danish residents in the Greenland, who felt excluded and insulted (interview no. 6, Deputy Director Bo Albrechtsen), but text folders in Danish have been produced, and 'We have chosen English as the second language of communication in response to the growing number of visitors coming to our museum, among them [passengers from] the many cruise ships that annually visit Nuuk' (Thorleifsen 2016:132). My translation from the Danish.

[132] My translation from the Danish.

[133] See chapter 4 for an elaboration of Stoler's request to reread the archives.

directs attention at practices that are not defined by a particular historical period in time, and which are particular to the Inuit culture. The focus is on difference.

Adding to above-mentioned aspects that may make museum practices successful, according to Clifford, he has also argued that 'The commodification of local pasts is part of a global process of cultural "de-differentiation"' (Clifford 1997:216), and NKA has successfully designed its exhibitions to feed into such 'a global context where collective identity is increasingly represented by having a culture (a distinctive way of life, tradition, form of art, or craft)' (Clifford 1997:218). Museums are well suited for articulating identity, power and tradition and, hence, for celebrating and valuing the distinct way of life in a given community. However, I would add that there is a price to be paid for the focus on the 'authentic' that is so powerfully promoted in museums: what is not comprehended as distinctive may be suppressed and ignored, regardless how prominent a socio-cultural space it occupies. Roland Robertson (in Hylland Eriksen, 2003:4) has incisively termed it a process of 'glocalization' when globalizing forces exert homogenizing effects on our worlds, while, on the other hand, NKA and many museums oppose this and insist on 'authenticy' as something which is not shared by other cultures.

Exhibiting mobile phones, TV sets and computers seems to make no sense, but how, then, can we make exhibitions about modern history at all? The industrial fisherman, who for decades has been the key breadwinner for the population and the state, thanks in part to export revenues, receives little recognition despite the fact that a narrative about him could be a history of Greenlandic agency that is associated with a sense of pride, and which could resonate with everyday experiences of a large majority of the population. Paradoxically, if we return to the concept of museums as cultural tools, the local museums offer the local communities narratives of local agency in historical times, despite colonial domination and constraints, whereas the agency at the national level, as represented by NKA, is mainly relegated to the more or less distant past when subsistence hunting was a dominant practice. I will in Chapter 6 return to a further analysis of the memory practices of NKA, including some indications of possible changes in the agency's future orientation.

5.f. Public memorials and pride in industrialization?

Looking at the monuments in Greenland one is acquainted with mythological Inuit figures such as the Mother of the Sea and the aggressive Kaassassuk, and with important men such as Samuel Kleinschmidt, Aron of Kangeq, Heinrich Rink and others from Greenland's cultural, political

and clerical history, whom I introduced in Chapter 2. In Nuuk's culture centre, Katuaq, for instance, a hall is named after the late Greenlandic painter and poet Hans Lynge, and the municipality has preserved the building, furniture and equipment of artist and catechist Niels Lynge's house under the administration of the art museum. City maps reflect a pride in personalities such as the poet and teacher's college lecturer Jonathan Pedersen (who composed one of the two national anthems), the first dean of Ilisimatusarfik, Robert Pedersen, the Reverend Jørgen Sverdrup and polar explorer Jørgen Brønlund, all important figures in national history.

Notably, in contrast to other former colonies, Greenland has no 'Independence Square' or 'Liberation Street', and one needs to go to Sisimiut to see the closest one may get to an independence hero, namely J. C. F. Olsen, who was a leading industrialist, a unionist, mayor, member of the Provincial Council and a pioneer in the movement for Home Rule (Andersen 2009:124). Andersen quotes him: 'The Greenlanders are bright and talented people. But unfortunately they were treated as children who were unable to take care of themselves'[134] (Olsen in Andersen 2009:124). Another memorial that directly addresses pride in industrial heritage stands in central Ilulissat next to the Church of Zion in the shape of a statue erected at the official centenary of industrial fishing in the Disko Bay. It depicts a fisherman in overalls dragging a huge halibut out of the water and into his boat.

5.g. Memory, shame and reconciliation

The emotion most often considered as the opposite of pride, namely shame[135], is repeatedly articulated in the current activities of the Greenlandic reconciliation commission. The controversial Greenlandic premier Aleqa Hammond established the commission in 2014 and allocated DKK 2.4 million annually for four years to its management and activities. 'Reconciliation is a process through which the Greenlandic society is moving away from a mindset that is a consequence of colonial history, by creating understanding of modern sociological issues' (Reconciliation Commission 2014), the commission declares on its website. The commission is an internal Greenlandic affair, because then Prime Minister Helle Thorning-

[134] My translation from the Danish.
[135] As I wrote in Chapter 3, shame has often seemed to stick to Greenlanders in narratives about the relationship between Denmark and Greenland (Thisted 2014b:167; Thisted forthcoming) and in the representation of Greenlanders in Danish media (see, for instance, Kladakis 2012).

Schmidt rejected the idea of Danish participation, on the grounds that such a process was not a need for Denmark. Many observers were puzzled, others meant that, considering the histories of former reconciliation commissions, establishing one in this context would send the wrong signals about the historical and current relations between the states in the Danish Realm (Thisted 2014b:162). These are some of the many difficulties faced by the commission, including internal disagreements and a complicated political environment throughout its existence.

During my fieldworks in 2014 and 2015, the Reconciliation Commission only engaged in sporadic and not very visible activities, and many of my informants thought that the money could have been better spent elsewhere. At an earlier stage, I had considered approaching the members of the commission to ask for permission to participate in their activities. The commission's active memory works relating to exactly the same decades as my own research, the involvement of local voices and the focus on the impact of events and conditions during modernization and industrialization on people's lives made the commission's purpose clearly relevant to my project. However, I soon realized that apart from the absence of publicly accessible activities, I would also have severe access problems due to my linguistic shortcomings, especially since my status as an 'outsider', a Dane and a researcher would lead to reservations about my presence.

Thus, I have only indirectly observed the activities of the commission based on media coverage and insights from my informants. Since autumn 2015, these activities have grown in substance, with public meetings in all the major towns on the west coast, collections of narratives and a short story competition. Its contested history notwithstanding, the public debates about the reconciliation committee reflect that Greenland does face significant social challenges, and it assigns a central position to a narrative template (Wertsch 2002) related to modernization or industrialization as explanatory factors in relation to the alienation of Greenlanders and current social and cultural challenges (see for instance Thisted 2013:230). In a class discussion after I had screened the films by Jette Bang at Ilisimatusarfik, a colleague here commented,

> I was very moved by watching the films by Jette Bang. To us, it's emotional. To us, these people are important as persons – we don't conceive of them as types, as a Dane or somebody else from 'the outside' would. I recognize the way that the old women dress, and I suddenly recall the way they move. Their movements look like those of my grandmother and of all the other old women when I was a child. It

> triggers my memory. Try to imagine not having learned about your own history in school. All the films that we have seen from Denmark… Cornfields and trams in the streets and all sorts of things that we don't have here. What did that do to our view of ourselves?[136]

A student at Ilisimatusarfik expressed how not knowing one's own history can lead to alienation and social problems:

> Young generations don't know the history of Greenland, they know the Danish kings, but the books they use in schools are still the ones that were written back in the 1960s.[…] When they see a couple of drunks in front of [the supermarket] Brugseni, they laugh and say, 'Just pull yourself together!' But they don't understand their history. […] People repress many things in Greenland. There is a lack of acknowledgement, and it leads to social issues, because people don't know their roots. We see that a lot, up here! People feel something nagging in their chest. They don't know where it comes from. And then they drink, get drunk and shout 'Stupid Danes!' And afterwards, they regret their behaviour, because they don't know what made them act like that. It's also about ignorance. […] And it's still tough today. Still, the Danes own all the large companies. The Danes are the ones who recruit and employ people, and they prefer to hire Danes[137].

A survey (HS Analyse 2015) conducted for the Reconciliation Commission includes alarming statistics: as many as 60 per cent of the respondents had experienced suicide in their immediate family; a little more than 66 per cent had experienced alcohol abuse in their home; 39 per cent had experienced violence in their family or closest relationships; and 26 per cent had been subjected to sexual assault or abuse. I heard several personal reports of these types of experiences from my informants, expressed spontaneously and unsolicited, or merely hinted at, but certainly a part of everyday life. Many people struggle with the psychological implications, and while the Reconciliation Commission conducts memory works (Hirsch 2008:111; Scheer

[136] Group conversation in class at Ilisimatursarfik, 190215.
[137] Group conversation in class at Ilisimatursarfik, 190215.

2012) on a national scale, many are engaged in similar efforts at a personal level. I asked one informant, who was a family therapist and educational consultant, whether she perceived the social challenges to be linked to what happened during industrialization, and she replied:

> Oooh, YES. On a massive scale. It's one of the things that cause so many people here in Greenland to have problems with their identity and self-esteem […] I can say this for sure, because I personally contribute to the subsequent reconstruction process. I grew up with industrialization. Modernization. And the prejudices then, related to alcohol and child neglect. Even starving children. I mean, what's this conversation even about? I have been a spectator to it… I have heard things ... I have been called a 'Greenlander', you know? I had experiences earlier in my life, which meant that I had to go through therapy. Like, therapy to deal with convictions that held me back ... telling me that 'I need to look up to the Danes' or 'the Danes look down on me as a Greenlander.' It's really crazy that I have to work with these massive personality issues, but to me it has been really important.[138]

These conversations convinced me that it is not possible to speak about the difficult experiences without addressing Danish influences, as colonial or postcolonial relations keep popping up as integrated aspects of stories involving these emotions of inferiority, anger and shame. Jensine had gone through a long process of liberating herself from trauma, alcohol and cannabis abuse and gambling, and her conclusion was that everyone is responsible for their own life, and that it does not make any sense to blame everything on colonial history or on the present postcolonial society. Rather, she claimed,

> It is my primary goal to become the expert who knows enough about parental neglect and abuse and about how to handle the identity issues that we are facing. And I don't want to discuss WHY we have these issues, because I feel that it is the wrong basis for a discussion. I want to pass on the knowledge that I have acquired […] I know all about why we have child abuse and alcoholism. Why are we so bad at handling alcohol? I could talk about my own childhood experiences, of how

[138] Interview no. 37, 00:02:02.

> people brewed their own beer in my settlement, but then I end up sounding as if I blame the Danes, and I don't want to do that. I just keep it with me, here in my 'backpack', because what use are these experiences to others? My grandmother sewed such lovely mittens, and she exchanged them for hops, you know, hops for home-brewing. The Danes brought that with them. She claimed that the Danes were wrong in doing it, but she could have said no.[139]

I have experienced considerable differences between the memories of different generations, as will become clear in my analysis. While some elderly Greenlanders experience feelings of inferiority, awkwardness or even hatred or shame in their relations to Danes, such emotions are rare among the younger generations, and several of my young informants expressed[140] that they are fed up with dealing with postcolonial issues and want to assign as little space as possible to it (Thisted 2012b; Pedersen 2014).

At one point, one of my informants advised me to make the relations between Danes and Greenlanders my object of study, should I ever want to change my subject. Although anthropological fieldwork does yield a great deal of knowledge about such matters, I prefer to consider the postcolonial condition a significant context of my study, constituting one element of my complicity, along with others, such as my gender, my age and my positioning within existing museum networks. For instance, I observed in the field how a difference in perspective impacted my own perception of narratives as I worked with the films by Jette Bang; an issue that I describe further in the next chapter. While on location in Greenland, Jette Bang worked with a Greenlandic assistant, who became a widely known and respected figure throughout West Greenland, and while I initially always introduced the films as made by Jette Bang, I saw myself gradually accentuating the involvement of this assistant, Hannibal Fencker, more and more, as I realized that although Jette Bang was highly respected by people in Greenland, they would rather hear about Hannibal Fencker, who was even more respected and a very familiar person to them.

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[139] Interview no. 37, 00:52:10.
[140] In Chapter 7 I elaborate further on this issue.

5.h. Conclusion

In this chapter I have concluded that the history of industrialization is, at least in the museum field, largely delegated to local memory practices, whereas NKA gives priority to narratives about pre-modern, subsistence-based ways of life and intangible heritage that present customs distinctly Inuit. In this sense, we can say that the exhibitions at NKA serve as cultural tools for identification by means of differentiation. Local identification is less strictly organized and hence more composite and complex and offers space for more different identifications. They do serve the local population as a collective representation of storage memory (A.Assmann 2011), to which the local population has trustfully contracted out their memories of this specific location.

Memory works on the period of industrialization also include reconciliation with violent, abusive and traumatic experiences. They take place at collective and personal levels, in the Reconciliation Commission, in courses and in therapeutic sessions.

Museums may be perceived as an arena for the projection of future imaginaries. Even the cultural history museums - that stores objects that refer to the past - also have this function, namely to create continuities from the past and into the present and the future. They may therefore play a crucial role in the reinterpretation of the decades of industrialization and modernization, which I perceive as a necessary part of the nation-building in contemporary Greenland.

6. Moving an archive – returning Jette Bang's films on industrialization

> At two o'clock sharp, people had taken their seats in Sermermiut, the cultural centre in Ilulissat, which houses the local cinema. I recognized about one fourth as schoolteachers and other culturally interested people. We left the doors open and told people that they were welcome to talk and chat, since we were going to watch films without sound. I introduced the films and related them to Jette Bang and Hannibal Fencker; the latter 'everybody' in the Disko Bay area seems to know. People entered, stood in a corner and chatted for a while and left again, some brought food and drinks from the cafe, kids came in and sat down in small groups. Six ten-year-old boys in their soccer uniforms sat in the first row, their eyes wide open, without speaking, for half an hour (from my field notes, 5 May 2015).

These films, a collection of 12 short black-and-white film from 1938–9 formed the starting point for my methodological experiments with both digital returns to Greenlandic museums and film elicitations within a broader audience in the areas where the films were recorded. Through my description of them, their travelogue[141] and my use of them I aim at providing a deeper understanding of how memories of industrialization are at play among people in the Disko Bay area.

First, by analysing the travelogue of Jette Bang's films, I seek to enhance our understanding of how industrialization has been presented and interacted with identity politics in Greenland over time. The travelogue of the films includes a content analysis of the films, an analysis of their reception in Copenhagen in 1940, their sudden disappearance, the rediscovery of them, and finally their return to museums and audiences in Greenland in 2014–5.

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[141] The narrative genre of the travelogue is closely related to ethnographic writing and filmmaking, the latter specifically as 'a genre of film that flourished during the early cinema period from 1895 –1905' (Ruoff 2002:1) and remains popular today. It is 'never a simple description of travel but a narrative of experiences, events, and observations as they occurred or were made during travel,' as remarked by Fabian (2001:142).

Second, I analyse the very process of returning the films from the National Museum in Copenhagen to Greenlandic museums, the reception of them and the prospects for these films to play a role in future museum practices, in other words, whether and how they may contribute qualitatively to memory practices about industrialization. According to Derrida, archives embrace authority and origin (Derrida 1995:10), but does that change when they move to a different cultural context? When museums share archival films with the communities where they originated, do these communities consider them authoritative? Do they recognize them as valuable sources? Are archival films a suitable medium for memory practices?

In the third part of this chapter, I analyse what happened at the public film screenings that I organized in collaboration with local museums and others, and I compare the outcome of these and other screenings, for smaller audiences, to see whether people respond differently in a more private setting. Here, I discuss the possibilities for individual memory practices compared with the claim by José van Dijck (2007) that since we remember through culturally shaped categories, which have become integral aspects of our minds, there is actually no such thing as individual cultural memory. Does this mean that since both the shape and the content of the memory depend on the actual medium, what is available to anthropological analysis is never individual, but always mediated and cultural memory practices?

In conducting such an intervention into Greenlandic cultural politics, I had to switch dynamically among several roles: a museum activist, a colleague, a friend, an employer and – at any time – an ethnographic researcher. Such complicit positions are very common in current anthropology and should not escape evaluations of the validity, relevance and ethics of the research conducted. In my concluding chapter I will do my best to evaluate these aspects, but I do have to make a reservation: as it was often only in retrospect that I recognized and understood the impact that my research came to have, and since what I engaged in is still an ongoing process, I may only be able to offer preliminary conclusions.

6.a. A travelogue of Jette Bang's films

Before I enter into my analysis of my experimental film elicitations with Jette Bang's film material, I will first describe the film material that I brought with me and screened several times during my fieldworks and eventually returned to the cultural history museums in Greenland. My description will take the form of a 'travelogue' of the film material, from its production to the

present. I found this narrative form to be the most apt for describing how various complexes of values and meanings have been ascribed to the film material and changed diachronically, in a process, typical of visual archival material, of undergoing multiple re-contextualizations (Banks and Vokes 2010:346).

There is a long and intricate travelogue related to the 12 reels of 16-mm footage that we decided, in 2013, that the National Museum of Denmark should return to the local history museums and the National Museum in Nuuk. It reflects the fact that industrialization and modernization have been largely ignored in history writing on Greenland, or, at least, has been described rather differently from what these films demonstrate. When, in 2011, I found the pile of 12 metal boxes containing the reels in the photo archives of the Ethnographic Collections of the National Museum in Copenhagen, they had rested here for many years without attracting much attention. 16-mm film is largely phased out today, as digital media take over, the celluloid strips become fragile, and the projectors disappear from museums, schools and educational institutions (Wilken 2014). These films present Greenland as rapidly changing due to the efforts of the Danish colonial administration. Scenes from an engineering workshop, a printing house, a bakery that makes Danish rye bread, workers in the coal, marble and cryolite quarries are juxtaposed with scenes from seal and shark hunting from a *kayak*, life behind the sealskin 'window', at the girls' and boys' boarding schools, at the sanatorium in Uummannaq, or at a baptism or confirmation as well as many other scenes from a society in which the ways of exploiting the natural and human resources are undergoing rapid transformation.

Like Jette Bang's photographs, the films reflect her special abilities for establishing good relations with people, the high professional level of her work and her photographic equipment and her special eye for framing outstanding images. She began to photograph in Greenland in 1936, and although she was an early mover, she was not the only one. A saying goes that for many years there have been more cameras than living persons in Greenland, and it is probably one of the most frequently photographed parts of the world. The technology for capturing moving images had only been invented about ten years earlier when linguist William Thalbitzer immortalized southern Greenlandic people, turf houses, sheep, *kayaks*, and *umiaq*s on reels of 35-mm celluloid in 1908. Germans, Frenchmen, Americans, Canadians, Norwegians, Danes and others competed in exploring and documenting the immense island. From the 1930s on, 'dispatched' Danes documented nature and people in the colonies and the settlements to which they travelled as doctors or inspectors. From the 1960s, still cameras became generally

affordable, and many Greenlandic families now acquired their own cameras and began to perpetuate historical and family events, sports and excursions, just as people were doing in Europe and the United States. Cameras in themselves promote modernity, since, according to Walter Benjamin ([1939] in Dant and Gilloch 2002:5), the invention of the medium of photography suddenly enabled its users to capture time, to freeze a moment and to move forwards and backwards, mentally, on a timeline. Using visual media to inscribe memories expanded the possibilities for memory practices and in that sense helped shape modernity.

Jette Bang (1914–1964) was only 24 years old when she was commissioned by the colonial administration, Grønlands Styrelse*,* to travel along the entire West Greenland coast and record a film over a period of 1½ years. The explicit objective was to document the allegedly successful modernization of Greenland and the Greenlanders. The film was to promote Danish colonial policies at an international polar exhibition in Bergen in 1940, and the perspective was evolutionist and patronizing, as was the *zeitgeist*. It was perceived as regrettable but necessary to 'assist' the Greenlanders in passing from traditional ways of living into a modern society that was as close to Danish society as possible. An excerpt from the commission specified the purpose of the film:

> 'Ideally, a film must be produced that shows a Greenlandic family living under the original, primitive conditions of the past, and from here one would see the descendants of the family moving, step by step, to the current highest standpoint … The intention must be to trace a line in the film from the most primitive folk life to the complex and culturally influenced conditions of the present' (Bang 1941a:9)[142]

Starting in August 1938, Bang's journey went from Narsarsuaq in the south all the way up the West Coast to the northernmost inhabited settlement of Neqe, some 60 kilometres north of present-day Qaanaaq and back again, ending in Copenhagen in December 1939. Jette Bang received telegrams along the way with technical instructions from Copenhagen. Her workplace

[142] My translation from the Danish: 'Det ideelle vilde være, om der kunde fremstilles Film, visende en grønlandsk Familie under Fortidens oprindelige, primitive Forhold, og derefter om man kunde se denne Families Efterkommere Skridt for Skridt gaa frem til det nuværende højeste Standpunkt… Der maa tilsigtes at føre Filmen op i en Linie fra det primitiveste Folkeliv til Nutidens sammensatte, kulturprægede Forhold'(Bang 1941:9).

here had equipped her with Kodak's newest technological invention: 16-mm reversal colour film, which was thus tested for the first time in the Arctic. Danish newspapers followed the journey with much excitement: 'The young photographer Jette Bang has bravely embarked on the longest sledge journey a white woman has ever made,'[143] one newspaper wrote, even stating, in another article, that she was 'In the company of Eskimos only!'[144]. Admiration mixed with anxiety for the well-being of the young woman when another newspaper wrote how 'The Jette Bang expedition has lost all its equipment'[145] in a fire in the settlement of Kapisilik. This lively press coverage must have raised the expectations for her return and the new 'Greenland film'.

When the war broke out, the international polar exhibition in Bergen was cancelled, and the premiere of 'Jette Bang's Greenland film' now became one of the biggest national events during the war. Hosted by the Greenlandic Society in Copenhagen,[146] the premiere on 17 October 1940 was attended by the Danish King Christian X and the rest of the royal family, the prime minister and other top officials, academic and cultural celebrities and 5–600 members of the general public. The director of the Grønlands Styrelse*,* Knud Oldendow, gave a long speech about the serious national challenge of Greenland and Denmark losing contact and worrying pieces of intelligence claiming that one of the two Greenlandic chief administrative officers had taken residence in New York. Oldendow ensured the crowd that the future would come to see a reunification and that the Realm would regain its greatness:

> 'A brilliant wreath of Danish names with the laurels of world fame links us with Greenland. Greenland has internationalized Danish science, the rocky country has been the whetstone for Danish courage and entrepreneurialism, and it has enlarged Denmark. We, in return, have explored the prehistory of Greenland, we have offered them their present and arranged their future by colonizing, civilizing and Christianizing the people, which wishes to remain with Denmark, its Mother'[147]

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[143] My translation from the Danish: 'Den unge kvindelige Fotograf Jette Bang […] er modigt taget ud paa den længste Slæderejse, en hvid Kvinde nogensinde har foretaget!' Kristeligt Dagblad 10 March 1939.
[144] My translation from the Danish: 'Kun ledsaget af Eskimoer!' Kristeligt Dagblad 10 March 1939.
[145] My translation from the Danish: 'Jette Bang ekspeditionen har mistet alt Udstyr' BT 23 March 1939.
[146] Da.: Det grønlandske selskab.
[147] My translation from the Danish: 'En straalende Krans af danske Navne med Verdensberømmelsens Laurbær er knyttet til Grønland. Grønland har internationaliseret dansk Videnskab, det er Klippelandet,

It was probably important to emphasize the strong affiliation because Danish sovereignty in north-eastern Greenland had been threatened by Norway, and in 1933 a decree from the international Court in The Hague affirmed Danish colonial rule over the entire Greenlandic territory (Sperschneider 2003:121). Danes largely perceived Denmark as a particularly solicitous colonial power, which was present in Greenland 'for and with the Greenlanders' (Director Oldendow in Bang 1941b:13), very much unlike colonial repression elsewhere (Jørgensen 2014:241; Petterson 2012:30); this is also the fundamental tone in the documentary films made by Jette Bang in 1938–40.

The premiere became a magnificent evening. Bang's film received repeated, enthusiastic applause, and the following day, the newspaper reviews praised her camerawork and the spectacular scenes of nature, animal and human life, in particular the many images of charming Greenlandic children[148]. One reaction alone diverged from the generally positive tenor; it came from the director of the Royal Greenlandic Trade Company, which had sponsored the film. The director stated with disappointment that the film did not demonstrate the technological and cultural progress achieved by the colonial administration (Johnsen 2003:38). This was a notable criticism, and it meant that although the demand for the film was high[149] it was screened on only five occasions after the premiere, not to be shown again until decades later. Attempts were made to arrange a wider distribution of the film in Danish schools, but these efforts were thwarted by the argument that only one original 16-mm master version of the film existed, and that it was too risky to send it for copying in the US, the only place this was possible, during times of war. There is some uncertainty as to what actually happened, but in any case, the film went out of distribution for decades.

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som har været Hvæssestenen for dansk Mod og Foretagsomhed, og det har gjort Danmark større. Vi har til Gengæld udforsket Grønlands Fortid, har givet Grønlænderne deres Nutid og lagt deres Fremtid til rette derved, at vi har koloniseret, civiliseret og kristnet Folket, der ønsker fortsat at forblive hos Danmark, dets Moder' (Politiken 18 October 1940).

[148] 'Vor danske Arvelod i Grønland', Socialdemokraten, 18 October 1940; 'Danmark maa bevare Grønland for vores kommende Slægter', Kristeligt Dagblad, 18 October 1940; 'Den smukke Grønlandsfilm, der bør ses af alle', Nationaltidende, 18 October 1940; 'Tredje nationale Storfilm', BT, 18 October 1940.

[149] 'Faar hele Landet Grønlandsfilmen at se?', Aftenbladet, 22 October 1940; 'Rift om Grønlandsfilmen', Vejle Amts Folkeblad, 22 October 1940.

The Grønlands Styrelse did not get the film they had commissioned Bang to produce. Why it turned out that way is not obvious. A film committee, including William Thalbitzer, professor of eskimology, had written detailed instructions for Bang's assignment, specifying desired sequences such as 'transportation of patients, hospitals, the college of education, grouse flying in sunshine over the snow, mining, chanting of hymns' (Bang 1941a:9), and Bang actually shot all these requested scenes. One may speculate what happened when she and Paul Hansen (Petersen 2010:201) sat at the editor's bench to finish the film, cutting the four hours of footage into what was likely a very similar version to the present 76-minute film known as Inuit today. At any rate, they must have made a conscious choice to deviate from the originally planned evolutionary structure. Instead, they – or perhaps somebody else – also turned out 12 additional, shorter black-and-white documentaries, totalling 110 minutes, based on the original footage. These documentaries recounted a propaganda piece about Greenland's successful process of industrialization and modernization. The short films show new shops, such as a bakery, a grocery store and a gunsmithy; motorized boats replacing *kayaks* and *umiaqs*; patients being treated in a hospital; different kinds of schools; Lutheran religious practices such as baptism, confirmation, and communion; the telegraph station and the radio station; the first printing office; the procedures of one of the two provincial councils; the butchering and processing of seals, the collection of eggs on bird cliffs; traditional walrus and polar bear hunting in the Thule district; winter life inside a turf house; the experimental breeding, slaughtering and butchering of sheep, cows, hens and foxes; and scenes from the marble and cryolite quarries and the coal mine. Watching these images today provides an atypical experience compared to other films from the Arctic. The focus on 'modern', 'inauthentic' and recently introduced elements, ranging from mining technologies and radios to grey foxes and vaccination syringes is one unusual aspect. The limited use of scenic images of nature is another. A third striking difference is the respectful, curious and descriptive camera style, which gives the viewer access to very different spheres of life. As ethnographic documentation of the pre-war period in the history of Greenland, these films, and Bang's methodology and style, are unparalleled, and the same can be said about their value as documentation of early efforts of industrialization.

The travelogue of the 12 black-and-white documentaries seems to have a long chapter in which they are out of reach to any audience. Grønlandsministeriet[150] submitted both this stack of films and the film 'Inuit' to the National Museum, where they have remained on the shelves, perhaps occasionally screened, but to the best of my knowledge they have not attracted much attention for more than 70 years. It is on these 12 films that my travelogue focuses, but there is a side story about the 'Inuit' film. Probably in a shape more or less identical to the visual material in the present version, this original silent movie was probably what was screened at the premiere in Copenhagen in 1940. When it had rested, unused, for a little over four decades, Helge Larsen, a curator at the National Museum, rearranged the film and added a soundtrack in which the narration seemed to match the perceptions of both the Grønlands Styrelse and Jette Bang in 1938–39 of a Greenland that, regrettably but necessarily, had to change: 'It was in the eleventh hour that Jette Bang, with her film, salvaged for posterity a section of a culture that for 4–5,000 years had been unrivalled in the Arctic area from the Bering Strait to East Greenland'[151]. In 2011, as a project manager at the National Museum I arranged for the 12 films to be digitally transferred along with the rest of the 16-mm films in the Ethnographic Collections. They were all registered in the databases of the National Museum and the Danish Film Institute, and the masters were moved to the refrigerated storehouses of the latter, which provide optimal conditions for preservation.

As described in Chapter 1, I had the opportunity to screen the films for quite a few Greenlanders and Danes in the networks SILA – the Centre for Arctic Research at the National Museum - without ever meeting anybody who knew anything about the films. The black-and-while silent films have comprehensive and informative intertitles, which at times appeared highly disturbing to me due to patronizing sentences such as 'The coals are broken by mechanical means. The Greenlanders are capable coalminers, given their almost 40 years of training,'[152] [153] and in a

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[150] Since 1960 the sucessor to the Grønlands Styrelse.
[151] Speak by 'Anker' in 'Inuit' (Bang 1984[1940]). My translation from the Danish: 'Det var i 11.time Jette Bang med sin film reddede for efterverdenen udsnit af en kultur, der gennem 4-5 tusinde år havde været eneherskende i det Arktiske område fra Beringsstrædet til Østgrønland.'
[152] My translation from the Danish: 'Kullene brydes maskinelt. Grønlænderne er duelige Kulminearbejdere, trænet op som de er gennem snart 40 Aar'(Bang 1939).
[153] The mine had opened in Qullissat in 1924, but since January 1924, a mine some 50 km further north, by Qaarsuarsuit, had been active, and 20–30 of the workers from this mine had moved to Qullissat when it opened. (Interview nr. 38, R05_0113, 00:31:20).

comment to the quarry workers in Maarmorilik that 'here too, the Greenlanders make eminently useful workers'[154]. I cringed when I read these texts, but our Greenlandic visitors hardly noticed them, and that made me curious to know what reactions the films would trigger in a contemporary audience in Greenland. Visitors and curators agreed that the films would potentially be very interesting, particularly in the areas where they were filmed. We soon decided to return the films to Greenlandic audiences,[155] because we felt an ethical demand and also due to this research interest in the return process and in the roles that archival films might potentially play in memory works. From the outset, my complicity (Marcus 1998) as a museum worker and a researcher was constitutive for the return and for the research project. Next, I visited the Arctic Institute in Copenhagen to read the diaries and the albums with newspaper cuttings that Jette Bang's mother had collected, and Jette Bang had left behind. The fascinating story about this adventurous young lady came to life for me, and I came to understand her films in the context of her contemporary discourses, as described above. I now wondered how those discourses would be received in Greenland, almost 80 years later. How would the films look like in the eyes of people who knew much more about the places and people in the films? What comments would they make? Would people be affected? Would the films enable people to remember their own experiences of industrialization? Inspire renewed history writing? What possibilities would this medium, archival film, hold for memory works? In the introduction in Chapter 1, I described how I successfully applied for funding for this PhD project, and from this point, the travelogue of the films continued to throw up connections between past and present actors in Greenland and Denmark. I exemplify this in the succeeding analytical chapters.

6.b. Returning Jette Bang's films

My first contacts in the field were the local museum directors to whom I now reached out. While reading about Jette Bang in the archives, I had written an article about her films and the reception of them, which was published in 'Tidsskriftet Grønland', a Danish-language journal that is widely read in both Greenland and Denmark. I had only just received confirmation of my scholarship and installed myself at the University when I received an email from the director of

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[154] My translation from the Danish: 'ogsaa her er Grønlænderne særdeles anvendelige Arbejdere' (Bang 1939).
[155] I was also inspired by a former return of a collection of Jette Bang's photographs, titled Kinaana (Johnsen 2010).

one of the local museum in Greeenland, in Qasigiannguit, who asked to borrow the films. She was organizing events to commemorate Jette Bang, and we soon saw a shared interest in me coming to visit her and screen parts of the film material. I describe this process of gaining access in the final chapter, which discusses methodologies, and in Chapter 8, I analyse what happened at the film screenings in Qasigiannguit. In the present chapter, my focus is on the local interests in the return of the archival films, mainly on the part of the museum directors. These professional memory workers were my first contacts when I came to a new town, and they became gatekeepers in the sense that I organized my screenings with them, according to their and my ideas about what would be relevant in the given town, just as they came to constitute nodal points in my networks of informants.

The museum director in Qasigiannguit had already planned three events based on Jette Bang's photographs with the purpose of inviting debate about the healthcare system in the past and today, about the fisheries and about the town's old church. We engaged in a lively correspondence in December and January, and in a stroke of luck, she actually had plans to visit the National Museum in Copenhagen, where she was later going to hold a workshop, which enabled us to have a planning meeting face to face. The director now suggested that I visit Sisimiut as well, and here the local museum director was immediately interested in receiving the films and in welcoming me to hold screenings and focus group interviews. She had only been in office for about six months, and coming from Copenhagen she now eagerly pursued sources to local history. Thanks to her enthusiasm and organizational talent, we were able to hold focus group screenings at the nursing home and at 'GU', the upper secondary school, a well-attended public screening in the museum's wooden church from 1775 and a series of interviews. She explained that she wanted to renew the museum, which, according to her, appeared fairly out-dated, focusing too much on prehistory and not enough on recent history, and in need of re-organization and a new strategy. Inspired by 'New Museology'[156] she wanted her museum to reach out to the local community and to base the museum's communication on a high degree of local user involvement. My memory perspective matched her interest in involving memories and material artefacts of the local population as historical sources. Further, she was convinced that

[156] A museological trend aiming to make museums strongly beneficial to society, among other things through user-generated exhibitions.

authenticity plays an important role for museum didactics and that the medium of archival film, in offering images relating directly to the past in the local area, would therefore be valued by the users of her museum.

There was a practical challenge, however, to my management of the process of sharing the films. I generally aimed at drawing attention to the return of the films to the Greenlandic museums, and journalists were positive in their coverage of that history, my project and Jette Bang. On several occasions, people mentioned that educational institutions, KNR[157] and maybe others might be interested in the film material, but I was far from eager to distribute it more widely before I had returned the films to the museums and conducted my fieldworks. I wanted to be in place to observe the initial reactions to the films, and so far I had not even decided where to conduct my fieldworks. Besides, I had stumbled into my pilot fieldwork so early that there had not been time for the National Museum in Copenhagen to decide which institutions to return the films to. As a result, Qasigiannguit Museum was the only one to whom a formal return had been made in the spring of 2014, and I only sent copies to Sisimiut Museum later in 2014. In 2015, I personally handed over copies to the library at Ilisimatusarfik, to NKA in Nuuk, and to the museums in Ilulissat and Qeqertarsuaq, as I also had film screening sessions where I could observe peoples' initial reactions to them in these three places. After completing these fieldworks I sent the films by mail to the remaining 11 cultural history museums in Greenland, which now all have them at their disposal. The package was accompanied by a document specifying the non-commercial rights of use, stating that copyrights had been cleared with the daughter of Jette Bang, describing the context of the return and the special qualities of these films in communicating local and early industrial history and encouraging them to write back to me. Unfortunately, none of them did, so I have no data on that part. To the best of my judgement, this is merely a reflection of a general hesitancy to communicate by email, and I expect that these museums too will have received the films positively and may already have used them in their activities.

I generally felt that bringing a 'gift' in the form of the film material by Jette Bang opened many doors for me, and at an early stage I concluded that this was because her early photographs meant a great deal to people. In that sense, I felt that people in Greenland had a right to access

[157] Kalaallit Nunaata Radioa, eng.: Greenlandic Broadcasting Corporation.

her film material, and that they would feel ownership to them as a part of their cultural heritage[158]. Museum colleagues generally shared this view, but when I was in Qasigiannguit I asked two middle-aged men, Christian and Anton, about people's general perceptions of her legacy. Their response made me realize that to many people, Jette Bang – not her photographs – were well known. She was a kind of legend to them, a cherished figure in oral history rather than a source of historical data.

> AMJ: 'What do people here in general think about Jette Bang?'
> Anton: 'If you mention the name Jette Bang you get a big smile from the elderly people. At that time, there weren't many people who travelled the way she did, and certainly no women. People think of her with greatest respect. A woman who travelled from Denmark and all the way to the top of Greenland.'
> AMJ: 'Have you seen her photographs here?'
> Christian shakes his head.
> Anton: 'No, no, we haven't?'
> AMJ: 'What about magazines and newspapers with her photographs?'
> Anton: 'Newspapers… we only used them to decorate our walls. When we wanted it to look nice.' They both laugh.
> AMJ: 'Have you seen the film she made, "Inuit"?'
> Christian: 'No. No we've never seen it. [reflects for a while] No, not as far as I recall.'
> AMJ: 'In Denmark, I know that they made a set of big-size copies of her photographs, which they hung in many classrooms for the kids to learn what things looked like in Greenland. Have you had such copies in your schools?'
> Both men: 'No.'[159]

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[158] More than 11,500 of Jette Bang's photographs have already been made publicly available online by the Arctic Institute in Copenhagen: https://www.arktiskebilleder.dk/pages/search.php

[159] My translation from the Danish: AMJ : 'hvordan tænker man på Jette Bang her nu?'
Anton: 'hvis man nævner navnet Jette Bang, får man et stort smil fra de ældre. På det tidspunkt havde man ikke så mange, der sådan kom rejsende, og slet ikke en kvinde. Man tænker på hende med stor respekt. En kvinde, der er rejst hele vejen fra Danmark og herop til Grønlands top.'
AMJ: 'Har I set hendes fotos her?'
Anton 'nej, nej, det har vi ikke'
AMJ: 'hvad med blade eller aviser hvor hendes billeder var trykt i?'

I began to wonder what consequences it has for collective memory when one's historical heroes lived in faraway places, when one's part of the world is assigned a status as peripheral to a centre that lies elsewhere, and when there are no sources from one's own society in the educational material that one is taught from in school. If we accept van Dijck's definition of '"personal cultural memory" as the acts and products of remembering in which individuals engage to make sense of their lives in relation to the lives of others and to their surroundings, situating themselves in time and place' (Dijck 2007:6) (Cf. Chapter 3) what sense would the teaching of Danish or European history then add to people's perceptions of themselves in relation to their everyday life? In relation to Danes and Europeans? And if, as Connerton argues, traditions are transferred through generations by inscribing and incorporating practices (Connerton 1989), then only the latter relates to a known world, and the inscribed 'traditions' are defined by people living elsewhere, leading lives that are very different from your own. If we consider educational material as one kind of archive, Derrida's claim that archives embrace authority and origin (Derrida 1995:10) makes this general colonial experience all the more awkward and potentially damaging to a society's self-worth. Consequently, during the past decade, the Greenlandic publisher of educational material, owned by the Self Government, Ilinniusiorfik, has engaged in producing new history books for both primary and lower and upper secondary schools in formats including both traditional textbooks (for instance Heinrich 2016; Jensen 2015) and graphic novels (Appelt and Godtfredsen 2012; Godtfredsen, Grønnow, and Sørensen 2009; Valgren and Godtfredsen 2015).

Both the formal and the practical process of returning the films to the museums in Qasigiannguit and Sisimiut proceeded very successfully, with the directors and myself sharing both museological intentions of bringing the archival materials to bear in the communities where they had originated and a pedagogical curiosity about the communicative potentials of archival film,

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Anton: 'aviser dem brugte vi jo kun til at tapetsere væggene med. Når det skulle se flot ud.'
AMJ: 'har I set den film, hun lavede, Inuit?'
Christian: 'nej det har vi aldrig. [de tænker] nej, det kan jeg ikke huske'
AMJ: 'i Danmark ved jeg man lavede et sæt af hendes billeder i stor størrelse og hængte dem op i mange klasselokaler for at man skulle lære, hvordan der så ud i Grønland. Har I haft sådan nogen her i jeres skoler?'
C+ A: 'Nej.'

which I will discuss in detail in the next section of this chapter. I felt confident that many people in Greenland would benefit from having access to this film material, and I looked forward to continue the process in fieldworks in 2015. Specifically, the Sisimiut Museum director expressed a wish to apply the film material shot in Sisimiut, showing people working in the shipyard, the smithy, the shrimp factory, the grocery store and the cannery, as part of her exhibitions. Moreover, she was involved in a UNESCO World Heritage application and wished to use recordings of caribou hunting around Sisimiut connection with this application. In Qasigiannguit, the film material was used in several screenings in 2014, and here too, the director had additional ideas of using it in public activities.

Almost one year later, I formally handed over the two DVD discs with Jette Bang's 12 short films on behalf of the National Museum of Denmark to NKA in a hand-over that was in fact quite informal, at a meeting with Deputy Director Bo Albrechtsen. A few days later the museum's exhibiting committee at a meeting decided to install some of the film material to run in a loop in the newest exhibition, titled 'Communication', and at my next visit to the museum it had replaced another famous film from the 1930s, 'The Wedding of Palo'(Dahlsheim and Rasmussen 1934). I got permission to stick around to observe and talk with museum visitors, but since this was during the quiet winter season there were too few visitors for this exercise to make sense.

Ilulissat Museum was harder to approach, since there was no museum director and the constituted daily leader took an administrative, rather than an organizational role. The hand-over of the film material was appreciated but no further initiatives were taken. Since I wanted to hold public screenings as an integral part of returning the films, to make it publicly known that the material existed, I had already before arriving to Ilulissat established a contact with the local cinema[160] and arranged for a film screening. I will describe this and other Ilulissat screenings below. Qeqertarsuaq had not been on my travel itinerary from the outset, but I was so charmed by the enthusiasm of the museum director that we agreed that I should sail out in early May and hand over the film materials with two public screenings and a range of interviews during a

[160] The organization was headed by a couple of film enthusiasts who organized weekly screenings of films on professional equipment in the community hall.

prolonged weekend. The journey proved challenging, since it was the first boat to cross the sea ice in the Disko bay that year. We zigzagged between or slid on top of the ice floes much of the way and when we were close to Qeqertarsuaq we had to jump off the boat and out onto the ice, to be picked up by snow scooters that took us into town. It was all worth it, as the museum director here found several useful recordings for her exhibitions and for public activities, most notably a sequence in which the chief administrative officer of North Greenland, Philip Rosendahl, who is now a popular local figure, is seen leading a meeting of the Provincial Council of Northern Greenland in 1938 in the building that now houses the museum. The museum director also considered creating an edited version for schools and adding a soundtrack of invited elders from the area talking about the images, just as she loved the images from the closed city of Qullissat, situated on the other side of the Disko Island and an object for a number of activities in her museum.

All the museum directors emphasized the importance of now having this film material as a visual source to the places and spaces that they inhabit today, or what they referred to as 'their own history'. The spontaneous joy of recognition and the emotional recalling of events and people from the past were evident in the many screenings that I organized with partners across the various settings of my fieldworks. José van Dijck has pointed to the importance for memory to provide a cultural notion of self (Dijck 2007:3), which is necessary for the individual to navigate in the culture that she is a part of, with regard to embodying culturally specific behaviours and norms related, for instance, to gender, prestige or age. Moving images of the past may become tools for transferring embodied memories in ways that words cannot transmit. Van Dijck has criticized psychologists' tendency to neglect the role of culture in relation to memory (Dijck 2007:4). While they do understand the importance of autobiographical memory in the three key functions of preserving a coherent sense of self over time (self-continuity), strengthening social bonds (communicative) and using past experiences to understand own and others' inner worlds (directive), they leave it to anthropologists and media scholars to deal with this cultural notion of self, she argues (Dijck 2007:3–4). If we recognize that an individual who has no autobiographic memory loses the sense of continuity with regard to her own self and personality, we understand in the same sense that on a collective level, the capacity for cultural continuity vanishes when, for instance, all the available moving images are of Danish cornfields, American comedians and other phenomena far from one's own sphere of experiences.

6.c. Remembering through film

My experiment of handing over the films to the museums was closely bound up with film screenings, which served at least three functions: first, I wanted to hand over the film materials as a gift not only to the museums but also, more broadly, to the communities in which they were once recorded; second, I was curious, from a methodological point of view, to see what kinds of reactions such screenings would elicit; and third, I assumed that the screenings would enable me to hear more memories about the transitions to industrial ways of living and maybe also to sense to what degree people felt that they had been autonomous agents in industrial developments. A fourth function, the profound importance of which I only gradually realized, was that during the public screenings people came to know me, which made them much more likely to accept subsequent invitations for interviews. In these later individual encounters, people were quick to open up and continue their mental memory works, which they now expressed in a more vivid and detailed manner.

Having two hours of footage to choose from, I always pre-edited a locally specific version of the film before public screenings. In Ilulissat I had the chance to prepare my public screening in the local cinema together with two museum staff and one of my interpreters, Peter, who held a great interest in the local history and had a broad range of contacts as a professional interpreter and as the leader of one of the three choirs in town. In one of the exhibition rooms we spent an afternoon screening the two hours of film, with visitors stopping by now and then, curiously looking at the images. Peter identified many things: a nurse and midwife who was the grandmother of one of the others, the exact itinerary of a boat sailing a Danish doctor from settlement to settlement, people, places, procedures and the techniques of hunting seal on the sea in winter, where a hole is hacked in the ice for the seal to come up and breathe: 'My father used to have one of these, an ice-*tuk*[161]. You throw it from one hole to the next. But later, he was 'danified' to the extent that seal hunting was no longer refined enough for him. And it was also dangerous. So he stopped, and I never learned anything from his many years of experience.'[162] He was clearly more fascinated with the traditional hunter's way of life than with the footage of

[161] The *tuk* is the large awl used for hacking the hole.

[162] My translation from the Danish: 'Min far han havde sådan en der, en is-tuk. Man kaster den fra ét hul og til et andet. Men han blev så danificeret, så var det ikke fint nok med sælfangst. Og det var også farligt. Så han stoppede og jeg lærte aldrig af hans mange års erfaringer.'

plants and machines, schools and mines and stores that I intended to show to the audience. When we watched a caribou hunting trip by foot and in an '*umiaq*'[163] he exclaimed, 'This makes me so proud! My ancestors certainly understood how to build and exploit everything. You had to work it out when you travelled, the weather and everything. There were no prior notices then, you couldn't just check it out on the Internet. That is why we have survived up here, in the cold.'[164]

I realized that while he proudly ascribed agency to the hunter's way of life, he reacted with reservation to the modernized or industrialized lifestyle. When he saw the women in Sisimiut shelling shrimps and arranging them in jars in neat patterns he said, 'in those days, they peeled the shrimps and organized them so neatly in the glasses for the distinguished Danish ladies to see'[165]. He had a similar response to the act of a Greenlandic interpreter receiving a decoration from one of the two chief administrative officers in 1938, raised in Greenland by Danish parents: 'in those days the Danes were the big men' and I realized that 'in those days…' represented a clear demarcation between an unfair past and an, if not yet fully achieved then at least strongly desired present and future.

When I introduced some 30 spectators to the film screenings in Iluissat cinema a few days later, I put colonialism on the agenda, speaking about the instructions to Jette Bang from the Grønlands Styrelse[166] to document Greenland's progress 'into civilization' and commenting on the way the intertitles objectify Greenlandic workers. I also stressed that people were welcome to chat and make comments during the film screenings, since there was no sound, in the hope of eliciting reactions. We had advertised on noticeboards in the town's supermarkets and by way of mouth-to-mouth, and even though it was a bright and sunny family-oriented Saturday, and we competed with a local sporting event, we had 40-50 viewers of all ages, coming and going as described in the introduction to this chapter.

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[163] A large boat in skin and wood, traditionally rowed by women and used on hunting trips for sailing as well as for shelter when sleeping on land.
[164] My translation from the Danish: 'Det gør mig så stolt at se det der. Mine forfædre de forstod at bruge og udnytte det hele. Man matte jo finde ud af det, også det med vejret, når man skulle ud. Man fik jo ikke nogen varsler dengang, man kunne jo ikke bare kigge på internettet. Det er derfor vi har overleveret heroppe i kulden.'
[165] My translation from the Danish: 'Det var dengang man pillede rejerne og lagde dem så fint i glassene så de fine danske damer kunne se på dem.'
[166] The Danish colonial administration of Greenland.

From what I could read of peoples' reactions they enjoyed 'visiting' spaces from the past, which were still familiar to them, and experiencing what Barthes (1990 [1977]:44) termed (Cf. Chapter 3) the *there-then* becoming a *here-now*. This included the hospital in Ilulissat with the midwife who had delivered several of those present, scraping off scale from large halibuts with ulu in the fish factory, people shopping jewellery or Christian images in a grocer's store, a travelling doctor treating a patient in Uummannaq (Image 2, Screenshot from the film), schoolchildren being examined in a modern classroom as well as in a narrow turf hut where the boards were only lit up by a blubber lamp, or a little child who begins to cry when the doctor pricks her with a vaccination syringe. Images of the narrow corridors of the coalmine in Qullissat (Image 3, Screenshot from the film), the hard work of transporting the coal coaches and shipping off from a rickety wooden bridge (Image 4, Screenshot from the film) and cutting marble by hand also sparked outbursts and comments.

Image 2.

Image 3.

Image 4.

To my surprise, at the larger public screenings, people often had no comments or questions after the film screenings, even though they were invited to speak. I had the same explanation from my interpreter, Peter, here, as I had in Qasigiannguit and Sisimiut after larger public screenings: 'People don't talk in crowds, if you don't ask them directly, personally. If you ask them to prepare in advance, they will reply when you ask them a question. But they don't speak on their own initiative, contrary to in Denmark, where people just talk'[167]. Another phenomenon that was equally surprising to me was the absence of strong reactions to the discriminating language in some of the intertitles. A few people snorted or chuckled now and then, but there were never any outbursts or barracking.

This absence of reactions should not lead one to conclude that people were not moved by the film, as I was repeatedly assured when I met people afterwards on a one-to-one basis. I realized that organizing these public screenings would only provide me with limited data, such as the most immediate, affective responses, and how many and what type of people were interested in watching such films, and that establishing a space for people to provide more detailed knowledge and show emotional responses likely required smaller groups or individual meetings.

[167] My translation from the Danish: 'Folk siger ikke noget i forsamling, hvis de ikke bliver spurgt. De kan sagtens have forberedt sig, så hvis man spørger, vil de svare. Men de gør det ikke af sig selv. Modsat i Danmark, hvor folk bare snakker.'

I had similar experiences at the screenings I organized in nursing homes and in a club for seniors in Ilulisat, Sisimiut and Qasigiannguit. Nobody commented or asked questions when the lights came on after the screenings, but during the screenings I was able to observe many reactions. The reactions were even stronger here, among the oldest generations, probably because the elderly had direct experiences of scraping cod, shelling shrimps, being pricked with a syringe in the neck by a tall Danish man, playing '*ujagaq*' with a wooden ball attached to a stick, smelling the smoke from *'aanaa's*[168] pipe or writing essays based on reading Danish newspapers. Here, I received the warmest applauses and more '*qujanaq'*[169] and smiles. None of them had seen films of their own landscapes from childhood and youth[170] before, and during the screenings I saw, for instance, a woman moving her hands as if she were handling the sealskins that she saw on the screen, a man cradling slightly in his wheelchair and moving his arms at the sight of a kayaking hunter, or old women mumbling a song of their youth. Memories clearly inhabits bodies and the medium of film not only links photographic images through their 'umbilical cord' of indexicality (Barthes 2000[1980]:80) but also the embodied movements that may trigger physical mimesis a half or perhaps even almost a lifetime later. When people expressed that they were grateful and moved, but after the film screenings rarely said anything other than 'QUJANAQ', I interpret this as a natural consequence of the 'magic' of the film images, which have the capacity to offer the spectator a kind of bodily experience of moving from one world to another, of 'being-there', in that world of the past that is inscribed on the celluloid (Cf. Chapter 6).

In Ilullissat I conducted twelve interviews involving the method of film elicitation. I brought my laptop and a hard disc with the films and was then able to select relevant scenes in accordance with the life experiences of the specific interviewee. Space requirements have compelled me to select which of these to focus on in my analysis in this and the two subsequent chapters. One session that demonstrated the potential of film elicitation took place in a small senior apartment with the 79 year-old pensioner Egon, who lived here alone.

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[168] English: 'grandmother'.
[169] English: 'thank you'.
[170] A notable exception is the still nostalgically popular *'Qivitoq'* (Balling 1956) featuring the Danish film star Poul Reichard in the lead role and a handful of Greenlanders in minor, supporting roles. A representation of the colonial order that still resonated at the time, the conclusion in this film is that the traditional hunter's life must give way to industrial fishing. 'Qivitoq' was filmed mainly in Ilulissat and nearby Saqqaq.

Egon was clearly marked by a hard life in the mining and fishing industries as well as a life-long consumption of plenty of beer, a fact that he did not hide. Nor did he conceal that he had accepted our visit because he felt quite lonely, but that did not prevent him from being almost hostile towards me during the first half of our visit, probably because I am a Dane. Egon explained that he had worked in the Maarmorilik mine, back 'when I still had a wife' and 'We went on strike then. It was unbelievable. The conditions were not acceptable. They are not so smart, the Danes. Do you understand?'[171], looking me straight into the eye as he said the last sentence. He continued, 'I worked on the quay then. We were so underpaid, it was really unbelievable […] It was okay in Maarmorilik. We just had to survive. I don't know how to say it. It was okay, but we were underpaid'[172], and 'It was unbelievable with all the beer back then, that it was so expensive.' When I asked why he had started working in the Maarmorilik mine, Egon replied, 'Because I did not feel that my work before that generated enough money. So I began to work at Maarmorilik, but it was underpaid too.'[173].

The conversation continued and Egon told me that he had also been employed at the local sports centre and for many years in the fisheries, and I realized that he had memories of being underpaid and paying too much for his beer throughout his life. When we began to watch the film, the atmosphere changed, however, and his memories became lighter:

> That's how it was back then. There were many codfish when we were kids. We just threw the heads and intestines out. We threw it out. That was back when the dogs were not tied up. They could just eat it all. It's lovely to see the Greenlandic dresses again. My mother used to sew such clothes and wear them. My late father used to come in the kayak, dragging the seal after him.[174]

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[171] Interview no. 14 R 05_0029, 00:03:15.
[172] Interview no. 14 R 05_0029, 00:07:16.
[173] Interview no. 14 R 05_0029, 00:09:37.
[174] Interview no. 14 R 05_0029, 00:45:36.

We continued watching, and he softened more and more up, adding. 'It's lovely to see it again. They are working with an *ulu*. They remove the fish scale with an *ulu*, right?'[175]. As our viewing continued Egon recalled many details, including the taste of boiled shark meat and of dried strips of halibut. He was impressed when he realized that I knew what an *avataq*[176] is and he was so inspired that he finally offered us a piece of *qiporaq*, which I took as a sign that I had been accepted, most probably due to the unusually pleasant experience that he, my interpreter Juliane and I shared in front of my laptop. 'Films allow us to go beyond culturally prescribed limits and glimpse the possibility of being more than we are. They stretch the boundaries of our consciousness and create affinities with bodies other than our own,' (2005:17) MacDougall writes. Dwelling for a while in the reality of the film is, in that sense, an experience in itself, and probably the most precious gifts that the digital return of Jette Bang's films have offered to its receivers in Greenland.

The medium of film speaks forcefully to our emotions. Susan Sonntag has even ascribed agency to the film and asked 'What does a film want?' (in MacDougall 2005:30). Some films want more and have stronger degrees of intentionality than others, propaganda film typically figuring at one extreme of that scale. I have termed Jette Bang's film propaganda because the Grønlands Styrelse had explicit and specific intentions of communicating a certain image of Greenland. Yet I also concluded in Chapter 3 that we need to be aware that film may be read quite differently from what were the intentions of their creators and that not least archival film, being used, forgotten and re-activated during changing times, often undergo such processes of re-contextualization (Banks and Vokes 2010:346; Peers and Brown 2009; Wright 2009). If I had expected people to react on the intentions of the Grønlands Styrelse, I had forgotten that these were not necessarily the impressions that my screening audiences took away from viewing the films. Having become archival material, the films had travelled through time, and because they inherit strong ethnographic qualities they are now open to alternative readings of ethnographic and culture-historical value. MacDougall reminds us that when we watch films we do not receive a representation of 'a people', 'a reality' or 'a culture'. We may, rather, see the practice of film

[175] Interview no. 14 R 05_0029, 00:50:13.
[176] A seal bladder used as a balloon to keep the prey afloat as it is pulled behind the *kayak.*

viewing as ‘a domain of evocation’ (MacDougall 1992:34) that provides the viewer with a different physical experience,

> Yet a residue of a clearly physical nature remains in film images which is not available in verbal narratives, and its importance should not be underestimated. Film images may be reinterpreted in a variety of new contexts, but the unalterable record of appearance and place contained in them may ultimately prove to have a more profound effect upon our ‘memory’ of history than the interpretations we attach to them. (MacDougall 1992:36)

Visual memory practices include watching and talking about memories framed and hung on the wall or stored on the smartphone, watching personally relevant documentary films through which one connects with the past, uploading images on Facebook and countless other acts of engaging with the past via visual mediation. The photographic image creates an indexical connection with the past that commonly elicits memories of persons, places, emotions, procedures, events etc. One is made aware that what appears on the image, the *there-then* has once been and is no more (Barthes 1990[1977]:44). The medium of film has a similar quality, yet adds another space for possible experiences of the *there-then* becoming a *here-now*. In other words, one typically engages emotionally *here* and gets a direct experience, in line with MacDougall’s claim above.

At the public screenings, the audiences rarely showed signs of wanting to discuss the films, but I observed a change in their attitudes, almost always towards a more open stance and often also profound gratitude. Self-evidently, only moving images of personal relevance will have this potential, and here, archival films – of good quality – hold an advantage since they are reflections of a familiar world that once existed, but is a lost *there-then*.

Strong intentionality, however, does not necessarily follow from such experiences, and the intensity of the memory practices largely depends on which emotions they evoke. Sorrow and pain may serve as impulses for political – perhaps revolutionary – activity, whereas pride may leave a much larger room for agency on both a personal and a collective level.

In Qeqertarsuaq, the museum director had, as mentioned above, spontaneously invited me to come, arguing:

> I have plans to extend our current Qullissat project to continue working on it for the next four years, because there is so much to do. But I lack the methods for questioning people, because this is not something I'm trained in. I am not an academic. But I do have people's trust, and I would like to work with you, because I expect to learn from you how to ask the right questions.[177]

This turned out to be a productive basis for our collaboration, in which her roles became those of an intermediary, a facilitator and an interpreter, while mine were those of the interviewer, the presenter and the observer. Drawing on all the previous experiences, we now organized two evening screenings in a cosy room at the museum, served coffee and cake as always, and invited people to talk as much as they liked. Probably because these audiences were small, around ten every evening, and because people knew the museum director so well, we had two evenings with spirited and cheerful audiences. One old woman saw her grandfather, the Greenlandic interpreter who received the decoration from the chief administrative officer Rosendahl in 1938, another recalled the hard work of carrying salt for preserving the codfish, and somebody began to tell the anecdote about parts of Jette Bang's film material being consumed by fire during the film expedition. As in many other places, people here noticed the physical strain of work in the past, yet at the same time they also highlighted the fact that people were working together, rather than in separate job functions. The recordings from the mine corridors in Ilulissat captured their attention and led to joking comments such as '*no helmet?*' when a worker with a knitted cap appears or '*safety shoes*' when they saw a worn-out and much too soft *kamik* on a worker's foot.

The director wrote many of these details down and continued what I understood as continuous dialogues with people about photographic images and objects related to the phenomena on the films, some of which people kept at home, and some of which had already been handed over to the museum. For the participating local museums, the film screenings elicit large quantities of detailed knowledge and empirical details about buildings, people, whether long dead or still

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[177] My translation from the Danish: 'Jeg overvejer om jeg skal udvide vores Qullissat projekt og arbejde videre med det de næste fire år, for der er så meget spændende i det. Men jeg mangler måder at spørge folk på fordi jeg er ikke uddannet til det. Jeg er ikke akademiker. Men jeg har folks tillid og jeg vil gerne arbejde sammen med dig fordi jeg kan lære af dig hvordan man stiller konkrete spørgsmål'

alive, and phenomena of the past, such as the traditional '*Mitaartut*'[178], the social functions of a former fish factory or the procedure of butchering a shark. This same experience of the capacity of documentary archival film to communicate more nuanced knowledge and thus also potentially lead to revisions of narratives that have become somehow fixated was put squarely by the museum director in Qasigiannguit after one screening:

> 'In the films by Jette Bang we see some other aspects of Qullissat than in "And the Authorities Said Stop" (Kirkeby and Lynge 1972)[179]. For instance, you get to see the absolutely impossible conditions for coming alongside the quay, and you see how they walk, bent double, through the corridors of the mine, and that their "safety shoes" are kamiks. We have had two former Qullissat events and we have also screened "And the Authorities Said Stop", but I lose track here, because it's so political […] Many young people today may not even know what Qullissat was. They may just know that there was something called G60 and a post-colonially traumatizing experience, etcetera. But here you get a real feeling that it was a coal mining city with very hard working conditions. People worked really hard, and the first Greenlandic trade union arose here […].These are some of the other things we can debate, because it's much more stringently focused on the work in the mines in itself and less about family life and the closing down.'[180]

In summary, I had expected critical reactions to the colonial context surrounding the production of Jette Bang's films, in the form of antagonisms towards the films. I had wanted to examine the reception of the films today within a frame of colonial propaganda, but reactions of this type were rarely expressed. Instead, I saw people relate to the films as testimonies about specific local

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[178] A wild dance organized one evening during the dark winter period where children dress up with masks or blackened faces, strings distorting their normal appearance, in fur or maybe limping, with a claw, or jumping on one leg as if crippled. The children dance for hours, performing demonic movements and faking or perhaps even entering trance. This is one of the phenomena that the NKA in Nuuk is working on nominating as intangible cultural heritage, as mentioned in Chapter 5.

[179] 'And the Authorities Said Stop' (Kirkeby and Lynge 1972) was filmed during the forced removal of the inhabitants from the former mining city of Qullissat. A political documentary, it has often been described as a propagandistic criticism against Danish political agency in Greenland, whereas, according to Lynge (2003), the purpose of the film was to raise attention about the situation in Qullissat in general and in so doing also criticizing the Greenlandic elite.

[180] Interview no. 29 R 05_0043, 00:12:40.

conditions, writing them into existing narratives that could now be revised, confirmed or elaborated with visual information. In other words, through memory works the films worked as archives (Stoler 2009:94) for the audiences, and it was in these actual meetings, in the performative moment (Pinney 2004:8), that an agency on the part of the film took shape, in an interplay with the audiences. In this sense the viewer enters into a relationship with the archival film, a medium that is particularly well suited for such memory practices.

6.d. Remembering through photographs

In my fieldworks in Ilulissat and Qeqertarsuaq, I widely used private photographs for memory elicitation as I asked people to relate their life stories to me. It began as an experiment, based on the positive experiences of film elicitations, and I realized that for many people it was much easier to talk about their lives if we used the images on their walls or in their photo albums as our points of departure. People would tell anecdotes, and often speak in a far more emotional and detailed manner than if I had simply asked specific questions.

Karl had a large collection of photographs that he came to share with me and tell many stories about. He preferred to talk at the museum rather than in his home, and he brought his photo albums and showed me his photographs on his smartphone. I was mainly interested in his memories from working in the Black Angel Mine in Maarmorilik, and it turned out that he had bought a camera shortly before moving up to the Black Angel and used it to document his everyday in and around the mine in considerable detail.

Karl became very inspired when we sat down together and looked at these photographs in his albums. He had not really looked at them for some years, and he spoke of some good years of hard work, making great friendships (Image 5), working and living together in a predominantly male society, isolated from the rest of the world.

Image 5.

Karl recalled the cheerful leisure activities of dogsledding, soccer (Image 6) and kayaking, and he recalled how the relations between Greenlanders and Danes developed here.

Image 6.

Several pages in his photo album showed images of groups of men in parka coats with long hair and big glasses, the trends of the 70s, standing, walking or sitting without working but with an aura of seriousness and determination. The number of photographs reflected that they were taken during a period of time that he had considered important. It had left an enduring impression on him, because this was a strike, in fact the only strike in the history of Greenland. After blocking the entrance to the Black Angel mine for two weeks, the Greenlandic workers had gained the right to the same level of pay and employment and work conditions as the Danish workforce. I am going to analyse Karl's memories of the strike in more detail in Chapter 7.

Karl's accounts revealed a pride in having taken part in these events, both the strike and the work in the mine, which he considered a very good workplace. This pride reflected further in a recently taken photograph that he showed me on his smartphone, of a corporate coin for the mining company Greenex with his name printed on it (Image 9).

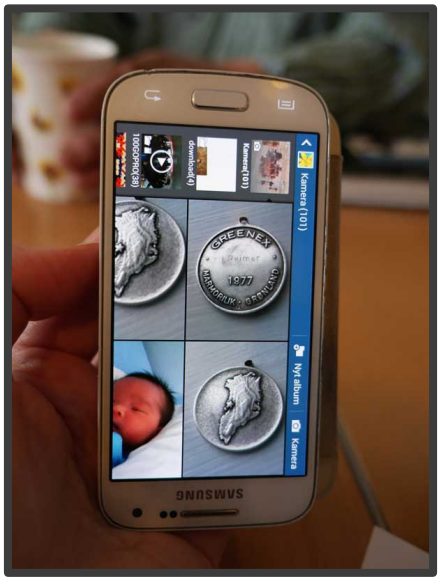

Image 9.

We talked about the possibilities of sharing this and other photographs on Facebook, as Karl was aware that there was a Facebook group for former Black Angel miners. Many memory communities related to Greenland thrive on Facebook. So far, however, he had only visited the group in order to look at other people's images, and the large majority of the images and greetings here are posted by Danes and other foreigners. It is clear that

> 'The technology available, and fashionable, at any given time has an immense impact on the 'social life' of photographs. It is not just a matter of the type of camera, or way in which shots are posed and taken. Vital too […] are the techniques for circulating, demonstrating, sharing and talking around the final images.'
> (James 2010:499)

Many of my informants used their smartphones as archives, always at hand, easily available when a situation calls for being preserved. However, I also found that an equally important benefit was the easy access to showing an image on the phone to others. For instance, during another interview with a former Qullisermioq, he was able to show me, with much pride, a painting that he had ordered and now awaited the delivery of (Image 10). Mediations happen

easily and with increasing speed when the media for transfer are always available, and, as remarked by Banks (2010:346), working with photography often involves tracing more or less complicated trajectories that the images have gone through, and through which they have become archives. In the example mentioned above, I copied a photograph on a smartphone of a painting that epitomized an existing photograph.

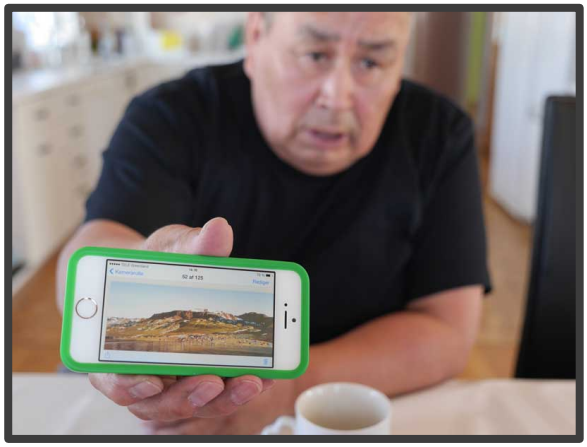

Image 10.

In many homes, there are many photographs on the walls (Image 11), neatly hung in ornamented metal frames or standing on chests of drawers or small tables among knick-knacks such as beadwork, crocheted tablecloths, plastic flowers, porcelain, ashtrays or Christian figures (Image 12).

Image 11.

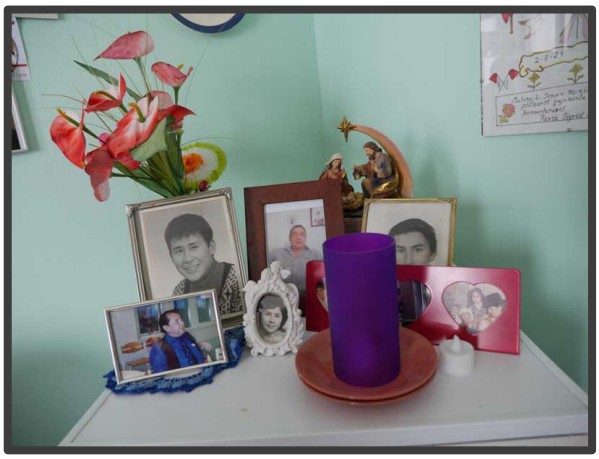

Image 12.

The most beloved family members and the most festive events of one's life are placed centrally, perhaps decorated further with dried flowers etc. These photographic images (Image 11, Image 12) were photographed during a life history interview with Cecilie, who had lived at the nursing home in Ilulissat for some years and was visually surrounded by her past in the form of these images, neatly organized along local conventions of display in the private home. As argued by anthropologist Richard Chalfen, our private photographs are our way of showing our perception of ourselves to others, and in this sense our 'snapshots are us' (in van Dijck 2007:17). When engaging with people through photo elicitation, not only the content of the photographs but also their organization provide a context for the conversations, and I have strived to be attentive to the conventions surrounding people's aesthetics of archiving and displaying photos in the private sphere (Bourdieu 1990; Pinney 2011:107).

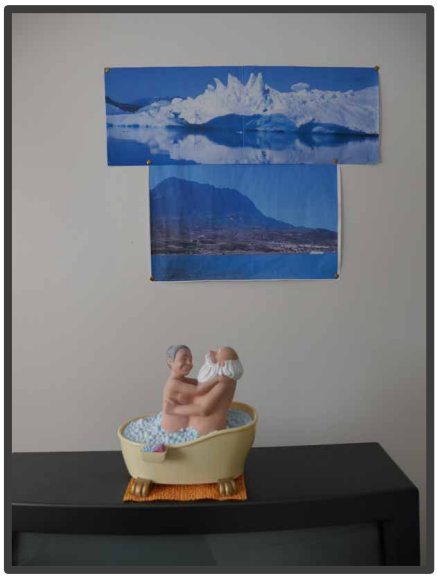

Image 13.

I noticed on several occasions that people included photographic images cut out from magazines in their private photographic archives, either in albums or on walls[181]. One woman had in her album, among her family photographs, an image of a man in a *kayak* whom she did not know 'simply because it is so impressive and beautiful,' she said. In particular, the circulation of images of the abandoned houses in Qullissat took on countless forms, a man in Qeqertarsuaq for instance posting a page from a magazine with such an image on the wall in his bedroom together with another beautiful landscape (Image 13). Generally, it seemed that people used the images available whenever a motive was cherished highly enough. On another occasion, I visited an informant, Isabella, two days after her 60th birthday, and she was radiant with joy when she showed me a framed photographic print on canvas that she had received as a present, picturing her beloved hometown of Qullissat, in a copy of the cover of Danish journalist Sørensen's book (Sørensen 2013) about the abandoned town. She had devoutly placed the picture in the central axis in her living room, straight under her favourite image of the virgin Mary (Image 14). I understand this as an appropriation of the nostalgic gaze on the houses in the image and as a manifestation of her sympathy with the project of the book, namely to pay attention to the legacy of Qullissat. Even more crucially, through this personal cultural memory (Dijck 2007:2ff) Isabella embodied a notion of herself as a cultural being, in this case as a former Qullisarmiut entangled in the discourses on Qullissat.

Image 14.

[181] As far back as the 18th century, the walls of Greenlandic turf huts have been decorated with images, and during the second half of the 19th century it became a widespread convention to hang one's walls with prints of Christian motifs and with Danish magazines and newspapers (Kjærgaard and Kjærgaard 2012:192, 195), as may also be seen in many of Jette Bang's photographs.

In Chapter 5 I described how people may feel called upon to contribute to the collective memory by handing in objects or photographs to a memory institution, such as a museum, and how this constitutes a process of recontextualization. The three examples above demonstrate that an opposite movement of appropriating public photographic images also takes place, which I understand as highly visible examples of collective memories shaping personal memory practices.

6.e. Conclusion

My exercise of tracing a travelogue of Jette Bang's film revealed that in such travelogues the travelling object may lose and gain meaning repeatedly. Knowing some of the intentions that a former producer or promoter has embedded in the object may lead one to think that these intentions 'travel' with the object, but this is far from always the case. On the contrary, it is in the performative moment, in the meeting with a particular audience, that these ascribe their own meanings to the object they witness, and they do so in accordance with the narratives and discourses already at their disposal. Jette Bang's films are therefore in present contexts not at all viewed as the colonial propaganda that they were intended to become by the film's commissioners, the Grønlands Styrelse in 1938. Jette Bang's empathic and ethnographically curious gaze has allowed for multiple and much more nuanced readings.

When I returned the digital copies of the films to five museums in Greenland, I met significant interest in the films, and most of the museum directors immediately expressed specific ideas for implementing the films in their exhibitions. This movement of a visual archive may be conceived as an empowerment of memory practitioners in Greenland, who have thus gained access to a visual material that may in itself serve as a source of data about the past but also as a starting point for the elicitation of memory narratives. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the viewing of it may also serve as a 'domain of evocation' (MacDougall 1992:34), a commemorative experience that may elicit new knowledge to local museums or be enjoyed at a moment in its own right.

People are moved by watching these visual testimonies of the past and it is due to this ability to move people emotionally that these visual archives are powerful representations of the past. When we move them, we make them available for new memory works. And it follows from our

knowledge that the representations of the past are powerfully shaping discourses that returning archives is an intentional act of attempting to change the future.

In the next two chapters I am going to extend my analysis of the rich sources of data that my photo- and film elicitations have generated. I will here elaborate further on the entanglement of these visually and narratively mediated personal and collective memory practices, recognizing that since both the shape and the content of the memory depend on the actual medium what we have for anthropological analysis of practice are never individual but always mediated and cultural memory practices.

Kapitel 7:

Memories of mining: Qullissat and the Black Angel

The two largest industrial sectors in Greenland are mining and fishing, and the memory works around them will be the subjects of this and the next chapter. Through emotional memory practices, among these visual and narrative communication, former miners and their families – and sometimes broader publics - engage with these industrial pasts. In public debates mining has repeatedly been brought forward as a potent answer to the economic challenges that Greenland is facing. The potentials in the resources – most probably huge, yet in fact not exactly known – that mining may generate means that the industry is at any time subject to public and political attention.

The mine in Qullissat and the 'Black Angel' mine, respectively, were among the first large industrial workplaces in Greenland. Mining, parallelling fishing, is an industry that in Greenland goes more than 100 years back in time. Both mines were situated in Northwest Greenland, on the northside of Disko Island and on the mainland about 100 km further north, respectively. At both sites there was an active extraction of resources already before World War II: of coal from the Qullissat mine from 1924 to 1972, and of marble in Marmoriilik from 1936 to 1940 and again, for a short period of time, from 1966 to 1972. In Marmoriilik another mine, 'The Black Angel' where lead and zink was extracted until 1990, opened in 1973. This was the first experiment in the social organization of the workforce as wage earners, and for the first time in Greenland a working class consciousness developed, just as it was here that people first had solid experiences of international working relations.

When talking about the industrialization or modernization of Greenland, the conversation often turns to the closing down of the mine and the city of Qullissat in 1972 and the subsequent difficulties for the Qullisarmiut[182]. The roughly 1,000 remaining inhabitants were deported to other places all over the Greenlandic west coast, over more than 2000 km, as remarked in a

[182] People from Qullissat.

recent publication with the defiant title 'The city that will not die'[183] (Sørensen 2013)[184]. Mediated memories about Qullissat offer a strong narrative about 'the Greenlander as a victim of the system', in a postcolonial Greenland where many people think that politics are still, to a far too high degree, formulated in Copenhagen. I was therefore surprised when I, in my interviews in Nuuk with Qullissarmiut, met some very different views on the history of Qullissat. Discourses on Qullissat turned out to be not only omnipotent but also much more complex than a simple postcolonial dichotomy of shame and guilt proposes.

Memories of life in Maarmorilik, the mining city at 'the Black Angel', were, sharply contrasting to Qullissat, virtually absent from any public room despite the facts that 1) this mine was also highly productive, 2) it employed, through the 1970s and 80s, hundreds of Greenlanders, and 3) it was the setting of the first strike in Greenland, which 4) was an event that led to a remarkable victory for the Greenlandic workers' movement. I was intrigued to learn that the closure of the Black Angel mine in 1990 was followed by only a single publication, by the mining company, Greenex itself (Lodberg 1990). Apparently the Black Angel does not provide the stuff that collective memories are made of. Also here the personal cultural memories seem to deserve more attention than they have been offered hitherto. I therefore make a comparative case of personal and collective memories about the Black Angel and Qullissat towards the end of this chapter, and I will here be attentive towards a relation between people's emotional memory practices and the agency they execute.

Emotions move people and cause them to act in certain ways, Ahmed states (Ahmed 2004a; 2004a; 2010; Frederiksen 2012), hereby indicating a certain agency inherent in emotion. Rather than imagining emotions as something circulating between people, I observe emotions as embodied in human beings. We may influence each other's emotional practices and often strongly do so, to an extent where we seem to infect each other with a certain emotion. Still it is us, human beings, who have emotions and manifest emotions (Scheer 2012:195). I now combine the practice theory perspectives of Ortner (2006) and Scheer (2012) and ask: how can we

[183] My translation from the Danish: 'Byen der ikke vil dø'.
[184] Books in Danish about Qullissat are Sørensen (2013) and two publications by Birte Haagen Petersen (1975; 1977), which followed a few years after the closing of the mine and the town. In Greenlandic there is only one (Haagen Petersen 1977).

understand the agentive forces in emotional memory practices? I will argue that memory practices, even when at the outset most private and personal, executing only soft agency (Ortner 2006:134), some even in the shape of traumatic 'post-memories' (Hirsch 2008), may, due to their entanglement with emotional practices (Ahmed 2010; Frederiksen 2012; Scheer 2012:210ff), over time transfer into vehicles for political, cultural and societal change.

7.a. Qullissat

For almost half a century Qullissat was a busy workplace, and the mine provided Greenlandic and Danish consumers with tons of coal. Some families came to live here for generations, and with 1,407 inhabitants it was, in 1965 (Petersen 1975:8), the third largest city in Greenland. All activities were related to the mine, and everybody was a wage earner, whether as a mineworker, a mechanic in the garage in the city, a schoolteacher or an employee at the hospital. Housewives and hunters and fishers were exceptions, but even they worked indirectly for the mine, providing food etc. for the mineworkers. The workers in Qullissat were the first to form a workers' organization, and they actually achieved a wage increase of as much as 60% in 1947 (Sørensen 2013:64).

Qullissat developed into an industrialized society and was, according to my informants, richer and more modern than the rest of Greenland. In the 1950s they had illuminated football fields, a 35 mm cinema with rows of seats sloping down towards the screen 'like in America or Denmark', as they said, and a coffee bar with a juke-box and soft-ice, a 'pølsevogn'[185], There was even a particular musical style called *vajgat*-music, a genre inspired by American swing and country, with the addition of Greenlandic texts, to which people danced on Fridays and Saturdays in the community hall. Along with the modern lifestyle, my informants liked to stress that people behaved with tolerance and openness towards newcomers of all nationalities, be they Swedes, Danes or Scots.

In 1948 the rentability of the mine was debated, but it was in the middle of the 1960s that an irreversible decision was made to close it down permanently. During four years the shops, school, hospital and all other institutions closed, and then finally, in 1972, the telegraph and

[185] Eng.: a hotdog stand.

power supply were cut. The colonial administration relegated the families to apartments and jobs in other towns all along the Greenlandic westcoast. Some were integrated and some did very well, as they had received an education in Qullissat, but many felt discriminated against. People would sometimes yell at them, for instance '*annanniat'*, a derogative word meaning 'those who come here to be saved'. Not so few faced great difficulties and came to live lives marked by alcohol and drugs, violence or suicide, and for some families these became traumatizing events to a degree where it became a taboo to ever talk about them. For others it was a relocation like any other, necessitated by altered working opportunities, and a phenomenon that has repeatedly appeared, from Arctic pre-history to today's debates about the closing down of small towns. During those days and months the popular band Sume composed a popular hit called 'Qullissat' that goes: 'You who remain voiceless will not count for anything. Your silent opinions are not taken into account. Qullissat, Qullissat, we must and shall return'[186] (SUME 1974). The politician Aqqaluk Lynge and artist Per Kirkeby produced their film 'And the authorities said stop' (Kirkeby and Lynge 1972), Greenlandic and Danish media covered the shutdown, and the Danish anthropologist Birthe Haagen Petersen published a booklet and a report on the forced relocation (Petersen 1975; 1977). The driving force of the protest actions against the shutdown of Qullissat were members of a Greenlandic elite, who had studied in Copenhagen and were inspired by Danish leftwing activists, and they combined their resistance towards what they saw as an inhumane capitalist logic and a repressive Danish hegemony. The memory practices of Qullissat were in this case entangled with mobilizing people for political activism based on feelings of unfairness, and – in line with Scheer's general observations (2012:210) – media use became an extremely important emotional practice.

7.b. Collective and personal memories of Qullissat

For at least three decades the memories of the city and the mine rested on personal memory practices. The 30th anniversary was celebrated by approximately one hundred of the former citizens in Qullissat's community hall, but in 2012 the 40th jubilee attracted around 1,000 visitors and was commemorated all over Greenland. The musical 'Qullissara' played to full houses in all major towns, almost all the local museums set up exhibitions about Qullissat, the

[186] My translation from the Danish: 'I, der er tavse, regnes ikke for noget, jeres meninger regnes ikke for noget. Qullissat, Qullissat. Vi må og skal komme igen' (quoted in Sørensen 2013:178).

annual summer gathering in Qullissat reached an unseen size and included both a concert by Sume and the marriage of the then-prime minister of Greenland and fellow-townsman, Kupik Kleist and his Aviâja, just as the national broadcasting station KNR widely covered the jubilee. The following year the Danish journalist Søren Peder Sørensen published a collection of memories and historical research under the title 'Qullissat – byen der ikke vil dø' [Qullissat – the city that will not die] (Sørensen 2013), and the acclaimed documentary 'Sume – the sound of a revolution' (Høegh 2014) celebrated Qullissat while it linked the harm over the closing of Qullissat to later battles for independence, leading to Home Rule in 1982 and continual demands for increasing independence. Qullissarmiut[187] became in these mediated memories the children of sorrow for the whole nation – fuelled by a political climate in which national independence had come to set the agenda. Researchers have followed this renewed interest in Qullissat and analysed the city as a memorial space (Gjørup 2014), as a postcolonial phenomenon[188] and as post industrial heritage (Avango 2005).

Since the 1980s the abandoned town has received an increasing number of summer visits by Qulissarmiut, their relatives and some tourists, re-inhabiting the houses and enjoying their holidays there – about four hours by boat from Ilulissat. An association called 'Ilulissani Qullissat Ikinngutai'[189] has for many years played an active role in the memory practices by organizing some of these summer activities, administrating ownerships of the houses and participating in, or even initiating, diverse media productions about the town. Images 14, 15 and 16 are one informant, Sophie's private photographs of a good time with friends in Qullissat (Image 14), the highly cherished nature (Image 15) and a visit to the old graveyard (Image 16).

[187] People who come from Qullissat.
[188] Paper by Astrid Andersen and Lars Jensen at the conference 'New Narratives of the Postcolonial Arctic', Nordatlantens Brygge, Copenhagen 29.5.2015.
[189] Eng.: 'Friends of Qullissat in Ilulissat', da.: 'Qullissats Venner i Ilulissat'.

Image 14.

Image 15.

Image 16.

I analyse both personal, collective and mediated memories of Qullissat. Firstly, as seen from Nuuk by a group of young students who only knew Qullissat from 'inscribed practices'

(Connerton 1989) that have made Qullissat a prominent mass-mediated memory (Dijck 2007), and after that as experienced by a variety of Qullisarmiut and their descendants. Secondly, I will include analysis of some of the mediated representations that my informants use, such as the film 'Sume – the sound of a revolution'(Høegh 2014), the music track 'Qullissat' (SUME 1974), a Danish Radio and KNR[190] documentary about the Queen's visit to Qullissat, and the book 'The city that will not die'(Sørensen 2013). I investigate how narratives about Qullissat are conveyed and sustained – and perhaps challenged – through the emotional memory practices of my informants (Connerton 1989).

I have traced remarkable developments in peoples' memory works, which seem to have the capacity to transform the tragic legacy of Qullissat into a more positive narrative. Feminist sociologist Sarah Ahmed has described how certain emotions 'stick' (Ahmed 2004b:120) to certain objects and hereby impede our expectations and orientations not only towards the object but also towards its surroundings, origins and imagined destinations. I will argue that the Qullisarmiut are in a process of transforming Qullissat from a 'tragic object' (Ahmed 2010:33), and I will thus demonstrate how processes of change may be understood within a model of memory as a highly emotional practice.

7.c. 'We can't be bothered to talk about that old postcolonialism'

In February and March 2015 I was lecturing at the Institute for Language, Literature and Media at Ilisimatusarfik[191], and during one lecture we discussed how media images turn into memories in our own minds. One student, Frederikke, declared that she was fed up with the collective memories of the band Sume:

> 'For instance in the Sume movie where we see the images and it is as if we remember everything even though we did not experience it. Even though we were not even born then […]. It is as if we always perceive the 60s as a cultural trauma because it concerns all of us. Because it is being repeated again and again.'[192]

[190] Kalaallit Nunaata Radioa, eng.: Greenlandic Broadcasting Corporation.
[191] The University of Greenland.
[192] Group conversation no.1, 190215.

'Qullissat', moaned her friend Sofiannguaq, and turned her eyes towards the ceiling. Frederikke continued:

> 'It is because of all the old children of Siumut and IA[193]. They have learned from their parents to think this way. They will come to fight the same battles, but they need a wakeup-call. Look at my friend Aja, who was here in class last time. We went to see 'Sume' together, and we were all annoyed because we don't feel like going out to fight. Aja[194] said: 'I have been there'. And she has been there and now she wants something else… […]. We can't be bothered to talk about that old postcolonialism. It may still be here, that business with the Danes and the Greenlanders. Yes, but then we must start doing something else![195]

The film in question is 'Sume – the sound of a revolution' (Høegh 2014), a documentary that portrays the first, and ever most popular, Greenlandic language rock-band in Greenland, Sume. Never before had so much money and attention gone into a Greenlandic documentary film. The film oozes the time-spirit of the 1970s, which within the Greenlandic elite is associated with ideals such as liberty and equality, including independence from the former colonial power, Denmark. The film played a significant role for my informants and I will therefore describe and analyse a sequence of about five minutes (from the middle of the film), which visualizes and narrates Qullissat.

It begins with the guitarist in the band, Per Berthelsen, who accounts for how the other main figure, Malik Høegh, was moved when 'a happy city like Qullissat was closed down just because the Danish government wanted it' (Høegh 2014, 35:30). We now see scenes from the film 'And the authorities said stop' (Kirkeby and Lynge 1972), in which people pack their belongings and take them to the barge, as the catchy and characteristic 'Qullissat' track plays. Laasi, a lone parent of six, who has fed the family by working in the mine, looks down and smiles in embarrassment through fogs of smoke, and says: 'I had wanted to stay here but the authorities

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[193] Siumut and IA are the two largest and oldest political parties. They have a tradition for voting in concordance with the Danish Social Democrats and Socialist People's Party.
[194] Aja's father is a famous pictorial artist and poet.
[195] Group conversation no.1, 190215.

say stop. We leave 'And the authorities said stop', and the camera now travels through empty houses with blinded windows and fading colours in the mist. The text, in Greenlandic, goes:

> Qullissat
> Money is the master of the authorities
> It is the road to misfortune. Oh, mine!
> It is desired.
> It is the cause of the damned hunt for profit
> You, who are working, don't count for anything
> Your opinions don't count for anything.
> (Malik Høegh in Høegh 2014, 36:00)[196]

To the sound of the last strophes, the images change into colourful recordings from the time when people still inhabited Qullissat's houses. The dinghys are at the shore, there is laundry on lines between the houses and smoke comes from the chimneys. The cut to the next sequence stands as a hard contrast: a 'travelling' up the central Nuuk road, H.J.Rinkip Aqqutaa, along the vilified blocks 1 to 10, recorded in a grey and dreary snowfall. This is one of the places to which hundreds of people from settlements were re-housed, and also large numbers from Qullissat. A middle-aged woman, a fan of Sume, exclaims 'Hajaa!'[197] and continues:

> 'The settlements will never be re-built. We are moving further and further away from that. If people had said, right from the start: 'No! We stay here' then perhaps everything would have been different. But people didn't. Everybody left. The settlements were de-populated. Can you imagine? They had all lived in a settlement, in their own house, for generations. And then, they were all of a sudden re-located to huge apartment blocks. I once met at woman who saw Block P for the first time. She asked me how many people live there. In Block P alone lived more people than there had been in her whole settlement. You can imagine how hard it

[196] My translation from the Danish, reproduced in (Sørensen 2013:178).
[197] Eng.:'Oh mine!'.

> must have been to live in small places and be re-located to a huge apartment block. It must have been difficult to get accustomed to.' (Høegh 2014, 39:30)

Through this quote, the film links the Qullissat case to a comprehensive, continual and sensitive debate about urbanisation and the vacation of settlements. A central element in two large-scale development programmes, G50 (Grønlandskommissionen 1950) and G60 (Grønlandsudvalget 1964), was that a number of settlements should be vacated for the populations to immigrate to the large open-water towns where their work was needed in the fish factories. Whereas the number of settlements has gradually decreased in the last century, a recent PhD dissertation (Hendriksen 2013) has disputed the economic and human suitability in this urbanisation.
In 'Sume – the sound of revolution', a range of memories stands uncontradicted and the narrative of the film appears as structured by a narrative template (Wertsch 2009:129) in which the Greenlandic population is victim to a Danish superior power that is still today, even after the introduction of Self Rule, dominant and discriminating. Towards the end of the film Malik Høegh concludes that 'The conditions in Greenland have not changed much if we think in fundamental terms. The colonial conditions are still unmistakable. Even though we are heading towards independence we are still subjected to the Danish Kingdom' (Høegh 2014, 01:09:14). The film could have been perceived as exclusively a tribute to a band and a picture of a period, had it not been for the concluding sequences, but by including Høegh's statement and a similar one by politician Aqqaluk Lynge, the film makes it clear that it aims not only at reconstructing the past (Bartlett 1995 [1932]) but also at delivering a political message. In one of the closing scenes this is made explicit by the two popular Elsner brothers from the band Nanook in a cover version of one of Sume's tracks 'Inuit Nunaat'[198]:

> 'To you whom we elected for the councils: We have been lulled to sleep. As one people we will rise up. What once belonged to our ancestors must now be devolved on our descendants. It is the people's land. They shall rule it as one. It shall remain in their hands. It shall remain in their hands' (Høegh 2014, 01:08:10).[199]

[198] Eng.: 'Land of Man'. Da.: 'Menneskenes land'.
[199] My translation from the Danish.

The quest for political independence in the present, notwithstanding the aggressive 'sound of a revolution', points towards the past rather than the present. The emotional practice of anger, so important in the 1970s for political mobilization (Scheer 2012:209), now resonates as a weaker expression of injustice, and the cardinal feeling is nostalgia, the longing for what once was.
The film was critically acclaimed. It received the Greenlandic film industry association's prize in 2014, toured important film festivals all over the world, and was seen by almost everybody living in Greenland. In fieldwork carried out in Nuuk in 2013-4, the anthropologist Christina Lynge Gjørup (2014:58) experienced how not only the mature audiences but also young people enthusiastically applauded both the political messages and the music of Sume, when played by a copy band in the cultural house Katuaq in Nuuk. Gjørup's main, young informant expressed that she felt that her generation ought to continue the fight for independence that her parents' generation had fought in the wake of the move from Qullissat (Gjørup 2014:59). However, it turned out that this renewed enthusiasm for Sume's music and for the film did not create a longlasting political movement. About one year later my students at Ilisimatusarfik were, as described above, not excited about the political messages that Sume represented. Frederikke and Sofiannguaq voice a scepticism that is widespread among the young Greenlanders, and in the words of Thisted: 'The young generation is actually not at all concerned with the question whether anything is Danish or Greenlandic […]. Their parents stirred up the colonial rebellion, now the young are rebelling against them. It is a rebellion against the perception of Greenlanders as indigenous people – as people of nature – because this has nothing to do with reality any longer. The confrontation is thus not directed towards the Danes, but towards their parents' imagined idea of Greenlandic identity.' (Thisted in Pedersen 2014:286–7; see also Thisted forthcoming).

Frederikke and Sofiannguaq were not only fed up with the talk of postcolonial conditions. They also criticized how *ulus*[200], drums, *kayaks* and *umiaqs*[201] - everyday items from a distant past - are iconized in fashion and in logos for larger companies such as KNR[202] and Ilisimatusarfik[203], referring to a pre-historical, pre-colonial and pre-industrial past. I have had many meals served

[200] The *ulu* is the women's knife, formerly widely used for scraping sealskin and many other things.
[201] The *umiaq* is a large, skincoated boat, formerly widely used for the transportation of people and material matters and rowed by women.
[202] The Greenlandic Broadcasting Corporation.
[203] The University of Greenland.

on tablecloths with *ulu* prints and I have spoken to many girls wearing black-red-and-white coloured prints of *ulus* on their scarf, shirt, bag or dress designed by the popular Greenlandic designer Marianne Isaksen. I was therefore surprised to learn that my students, young representatives of an intellectual elite, criticized the use of these symbols in the same vein as they criticized post-colonial reflections, all being merged as one undifferentiated, tiresome and omnipotent presence of the past in the present. Elsewhere, however, other kinds of memory practices related to Qullissat are much more relevant, insistent and sensitive.

7.d. Postmemories

Finding informants affiliated to Qullissat was surprisingly easy. Not only do people in Greenland, as in many other small-states, generally always know where you come from; when one meets a person, the prefatory chats also always disclose one's relations to kin and places. For the former Qullisarmiut, this is an even more pertinent issue, and I often heard people declare, unasked, that 'she is from Qullissat' when talking about a third person. Apparently, there was something special about people from Qullissat, a stigmata that other people used and that people carried along either as a burden or as a special qualification.

One exception was the nursing home assistant Aviâja, who worked for me as an interpreter for three days during interviews of, and filmscreenings for, the residents. Suddenly, on only the third day, she suddenly exclaimed:

> Aviâja: 'I myself am also born in Qullissat.'
> AMJ: 'I see. Won't you tell me about it?'
> Aviâja: 'No, because we never talked much about it, so I don't really know anything. We moved from there when I was one year old.'
> AMJ: 'Do you have any photographs from there'
> Aviâja: 'No, we have nothing. Neither my grandparents nor my parents want to talk about it. Maybe because it hurts too much.'

Aviâja was a humble and solicitous person but she, nevertheless, curiously posed questions on her own initiative, despite my instructions not to do so. There are many interesting things that everyday routines don't leave room to talk about and she came to know the residents better, for instance when we were, during one interview, offered a difficult life history by a man who had had ten children with different women, none of whom he had ever been married to, and with

whom he had no contact today. I interpreted the situation such that she enjoyed the privilege of the ignorant, who is not embarrassed to ask questions. Likewise, my informants most patiently bore with me when I posed clumsy questions about their families and feelings.

Aviâja's parents belonged to a group of former Qullisarmiut who had gone through societal trauma. They may hereby share characteristics with descendants of holocaust survivors, referred to as a 'hinge generation' by the literary and memory scholar Marianne Hirsch (Hirsch 2008:103; 2012:9ff). More or less subconsciously, the post-generation to which Aviaja belongs conveys and sustains behaviour caused by corporeal trauma of which they have no direct experience. Their parents and others of their parents' generation have perhaps through 'inscription' (Connerton 1989:73) passed on mediated memories as impersonal stories and photographic images, whereas they have never, as in the case of Aviâja's family, verbally articulated the traumatic experiences. The post traumatic effects are then solely conveyed through bodily 'incorporating practices' (Connerton 1989:72) from the parents or even the grandparents, and they may be an important part of the person's habitus. Perhaps even without her consciously knowing that they have happened, she may still embody difficult emotions and inherit behavioral patterns from her parental generation. Hirsch's point is that extensive memory works can, as they have regarding the holocaust hinge generation, help to deal with and perhaps overcome trauma. I will analyse further below how, albeit on different scales, active memory works are, on both personal and socio-psychological levels, during these very years, changing the lives of former Qullisarmiut.

7.e. A perfect memory?

In July 2015 the royal couple of the Realm was on a summer cruise to settlements, villages and towns in east-, north- and south Greenland. When it was announced that the royal ship was going to dock at Qullissat, the former Qullisarmiut whom I talked with were excited and honoured. Veneration for the royal house is very strong, and a large part of the Greenlandic population have personally had a close encounter with one of its members, sung in a choir for them or received a distinction from them, as both the Queen and the Crown Prince like to visit Greenland and tour the country almost every year. There was also a slight wondering as to why the Queen wanted to visit the abandoned town now. Was it a personally driven memorial re-visit[204]? Had she been

[204] As a young girl she visited the lively town of Qullissat in the summer of 1960.

inspired by something in Sørensen's recently published book (Sørensen 2013) or what was her motive?

On 14 July, Isabella and Karoline had already spent two of their usual three weeks of vacation in their yellow house in the middle of Qullissat. About one hundred people were in the town now, ready to receive the Queen, and already at 7:45 am journalists from KNR[205] and DR[206] knocked on the door. It was no coincidence that they knocked on precisely their door. Karoline's father was among the group of miners who in 1923 had moved from a coalmine further north, at Qaarsuarsuk, and thereby became one of the first miners in Qullissat. She was born seven years later and was now the oldest living townswoman. In 1951 she had given birth to Isabella in the apartment above the community hall, which she and her husband managed. For the journalists[207] they qualified as ideal witnesses due to their solid embeddedness in the townlife, yet, even more important may be their abilities to perform those emotions with which the commonly known narrative of Qullissat are linked.

In DR TV's emission 'The royal couple in Greenland'[208], one can see Isabella waving, accompanied by melancholic tunes[209] to a little, smiling and bent Karoline outside the yellow house. She walks towards the ocean and speaks: 'It was the passenger ship 'Kununguak' on which we should leave, and I just sat there and cried and cried […]. My tears are down there on the bottom of the ocean'. In the next scene Queen Margrethe speaks and says that it is a remarkable contrast to see the town today because she has memories of it from her previous visit as a young girl in 1960. The Queen concludes: 'I really understand that people find it sad to return and yet cannot help keep returning, yes, because this is a part of their own childhood and

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[205] *Greenlandic Radio*
[206] Danish Radio.
[207] They had already figured in Sørensen's book about Qullissat (Sørensen 2013:127–131) , and I later learned that he was one of the people behind the selection of those persons who should meet with the journalists.
[208] Da.: 'Regentparrets sommertogt på Grønland'. Broadcast on DR 1 27.7.2015 at 21:00 – 21:30. One could have compared this with KNR's coverage of the royal visit to Qullissat, but I prioritized not to do so as DR is broadcast all over Greenland and more people watch it than KNR. Besides, their perspectives were, to the best of my judgement, not different since the DR and KNR journalists stood shoulder by shoulder during the four hour long visit.
[209] The track 'American Beauty' from Thomas Newman's soundtrack to the film 'American Beauty' (1999).

their background'. In the next, very brief, sequence the deputy mayor of the Qaasuitsup municipality, standing in the middle of a crowd, speaks: 'Why was the town closed down?'. In a close-up Isabella reacts: 'He who speaks… I am almost in tears… mm. I got very moved, yes'. We see Isabella and the Queen walking in front of a crowd through the empty houses, as a voice-over concludes: 'Yet the visit of the royal couple makes the former inhabitants feel that their history is seen and heard', and it continues: 'Many now use their summer holidays to create new memories in the town, under the motto 'Let us look forward with happiness''. This positive conclusion is consolidated by a close-up of Isabella's lovely smile, a boy waving the Greenlandic flag and Isabella's conclusion: 'It was lovely that the Queen came and the Prince. Yes. A lovely experience'. The programme ends with the royal couple sailing away with their guards in a rubber boat, towards the royal ship.

Sorrow and pain, love and affection are expressed in clarity, through facial expressions and physical behaviour rather than through words. Isabella embodies the narrative of the programme when she speaks about Qullissat. The journalist, though, had consciously tried to intensify the drama by continually asking: 'How do you feel about being removed by force to another town?' while ignoring Isabella's reply that she struggled for many years but had gradually managed to accept it and find peace herein. To Isabella, this was a most decisive chapter in her life history, and among other rewards it had enabled her to achieve a mutually respectful relation with the Danish nurses with whom she collaborated on a daily basis. The journalist had continued asking: 'How do you feel?' and 'How is it?' until Isabella had cut her off[210]. The journalist had wanted unambiguous emotions to support an affective narrative (Frederiksen 2012:12) that could serve as a cultural tool (Wertsch 2002:11) to mobilize a certain reaction in the viewer. The Danish royal house, I argue, also had its own interests concerning the event, namely 1) to communicate the Queen's benign solicitude, concern and support for the Qullisarmiut , 2) to use the popularity of the Queen among the Grenlanders to awaken empathy towards the Qullisarmiut, and 3) to heal one of the wounds that has hurt the collaboration within the Realm. Seen from the perspective of the treasurer of Ilulissani Qullissat Ikinngutai,[211] it was a valid representation[212].

[210] Interview nr. 38, R05_0113, 01:14:44
[211] Eng.: 'Friends of Qullissat in Ilulissat', Danish: 'Qullissats Venner i Ilulissat'.
[212] Interview nr. 38 og nr. 39.

7.f. Recalling is forgetting

In order for both the television reportage about the visit of the Queen and an affective narrative to work, the degree of complexity must be kept within certain limits. Isabella's sorrow and love merely called for comfort. In other mediated memories anger is equally an issue and it is exactly this combination of emotional practices of both pain and anger that has been important for mobilizing political action in the 1970s (Scheer 2012:209). Performing the 'sound of a revolution' is an emotional practice of pain, sorrow, injustice and anger, but it is based on a contested discourse. As I have argued in Chapter 3, memory practices are highly dependent on emotional practices, and are therefore subject to change over time. In order to analyse how such processes unfold in a dynamic interplay between personal and collective cultural memory practices (Dijck 2007:9), I have identified four central forgettings in the mass-mediated narratives about Qullissat. Forgetting is essential for functional memories, as they develop selectively in order to legitimize or delegitimize social groupings, norms and behavior (A.Assmann 2011:119ff) (cf. Chapter 3). I argue that without these forgettings it would not have been possible to maintain the central assertions of either 1) an unequivocal Danish guilt in the closing down of the mine and the town, 2) a solidarity among Greenlanders, 3) Qullisarmiut as one coherent 'emotional community' (Wetherell 2012) or 4) a narration about Qullissat as a 'tragic object' (Ahmed 2010:21).

Who took the decision to close down Qullissat?

Karoline and several others of my informants have, in the same way as the media productions on Qullissat, expressed anger against 'the Danes' or 'Denmark' for their closing down of Qullissat. It remains, in almost all accounts, diffuse who these 'Danes' were, as this interview with John, a nursing home resident in Ilulissat, illustrates:

> AMJ: How was it when people started talking about the closing down of Qullissat?
> John: They had a lot of meetings over a longer period of time. Then we were told that it was now better to use oil and therefore the coalmine had to close. I was an interpreter at the meetings.
> AMJ: Were the discussions very difficult?
> John: Those from Qullissat were very angry. They would not leave their town. They were very much against it. […]

AMJ: Where was the decision made?
John: In Denmark. It was in Denmark, that they decided it.[213]

For most of my informants this narrative was for years sufficient, while some gradually realized that the story has more nuances. The level of information in the early 1970s surely has impeded people from gaining detailed insights, but a narrative that writes out the role of the Greenlandic politicians when they accepted the closure is equally important in a local political context. The Greenlandic historian and writer Niels Peter has in recent years researched the case, read the historical sources about the G50 and G60 reports, and investigated the removals of populations in Greenland in general. He has concluded that it was not only a Danish decision to close down Qullissat. Already in the G50 report (Grønlandskommissionen 1950) the commission – consisting of both Danes and Greenlanders – recommended that the mine should be closed. He remarked that there were problems with the widespread abuse of alcohol and that the image of the town had hereby been damaged. 'Not everybody studies history,' he wryly smiled, 'And if one repeats a lie again and again then people start to think that it is true'[214].

In recent years, the forgetting of the complex process of the closure is still important and connected to the existing wish for an official apology. The chairman of 'Ilulissani Qullissat Ikinngutai'[215] has put the wish forward on several occasions, for instance in 2010 on KNR (referred in Sørensen 2013:159), and in an interview with me he expressed it in this way:

> Sofus, chairman: I compare us with those from Qaanaaq. They just walked across the land and then they had a new settlement for themselves and their families. We from Qullissat, we were spread all over the coast. We were divided. That's what they did to us. And those people from Qaanaaq they receive a reimbursement every year […] They have a fund that continously receives 400,000 kr. We don't work in order to receive the money, rather we work on healing the wounds that we have got. […] Money is not the most important thing to us. We feel that what is inside is what really counts. Many have left their families. Many have committed suicide.

[213] Interview nr 24, R05_0041, 00:29:30.
[214] Interview nr. 11, R05_0008, 00:36:00.
[215] Eng.: 'Friends of Qullissat in Ilulissat', Danish: 'Qullissats Venner i Ilulissat'.

> From our town. We really want to help those few remaining, not just money-wise. If an apology is possible it would also mean a lot. It would give us some peace inside. That's what we want to achieve and spend the rest of our lives on.
> AM: Who do you want to give you an apology?
> Sofus: The Danish government. [216]

There has never been sufficient political consensus to propose this officially, and even if it should happen, the chances of obtaining an apology are minimal. Whereas apologies on historical grounds in recent decades have been numerous (see e.g. Andersen 2014), such as Germany apologizing on repeated occasions for war crimes during WW2 and Canada apologizing to the Inuit, Mestizo and Indian people for their abuse and maltreatment in children's homes until recent decades (Steenbæk 2016), the attitude of the Danish state has generally been dismissive hitherto. In Chapter 2, I described how the organisation Save the Children Denmark in 2014 apologized to the four Greenlandic adults who had 'with the best of intentions' (Bryld 2010) been taken from their families and brought up during the 1950s under inhumane conditions to become 'rolemodels' for the rest of the Greenlandic population; and how in 1999 the then-Prime Minister Poul Nyrup Rasmussen apologized for the process in the Thule case[217], to 'the Inughuit, the population of Thule and to the entire Greenland for the way in which the decision about the removal was made and executed' (Statsministeriet 1999)[218].

The hesitancy of the Danish state might be linked to the Danish self-perception that has been dominant since the 1950s of the Danish state as exceptionally solicitous[219] (cf. Chapter 6). Yet, it may equally be grounded in a fear of compensation claims, as has been the case with the former Danish West Indies. However, economic compensation might not at all be at the top of the agenda of the Greenlandic people. Sofus from 'Ilulissani Qullissat Ikinngutai' expressed what the historian

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[216] Interview no.22, R05_00:30, 00:39:00.
[217] Notably he did not apologize for the actionitself. One may speculate whether this was done in order to escape the much larger reponsibility of relocating the Thule population in order to support a solid relation to the US. The Danish government hereby signalled that there are no regrets regarding the establishment of the US military base, which was largely designed to protect Greenland and the entire Scandinavian region.
[218] My translation from the Danish.
[219] In Denmark this has repeatedly been described as particularly Danish, but as demonstrated by Loftsdóttir and Jensen (2012) it is paralleled in all the Nordic countries.

Astrid N. Andersen (under publication [2014]) has also pointed out, namely that requests from former colonies are rather concerned with attracting attention than with the actual economical gain. For fragile states this may be an important support in the challenging project of building a new national identity with a strongly founded 'we'.

Limits to solidarity?

For Qullisarmiut, it was not only the removal from the town itself that made their lives difficult in the ensuing decades - the families could choose which town they wanted to relocate to and the Ministry for Greenland[220] assigned habitation and jobs to people. Rather, the transfer became difficult due to the reception in the new places. Sofus and his wife, Josefine, moved to Ilulissat and narrated about their first time there:

> Sofus: Of course we also went hunting here but many lost it. There were so many things you could do up there. You had so much for free … as I said before, up to three or four whales a day. But after the removal there were many things that we suddenly had to pay for. The hunting fields changed and we felt uncomfortable with many things.
> Sofus: We also brought our dogs here but we did not know where to find fodder and before the end of the year we had to have them killed. Even though we moved to a town where there were already so many dogs. Nobody told us anything and there were many things that we did not know … where to find fodder. That's how it was.
> AMJ: Was it hard to find work?
> Sofus: No, but there was a lot of discrimination and not much help to get. It was not simple, but if you had the will you could manage […]. But being looked down upon was hard. Also just on an ordinary day, when you went to the store. Then people would shout at you.
> AMJ: What would they yell?
> Sofus: There were many things, but in particular 'annangiat' [221].

[220] Grønlandsministeriet.
[221] Annangiat, eng.: 'Those who come from outside to be saved'.

> Josefine: We had never heard such abusive language while living in Qullissat. It was not until we moved here. And we were maybe different from them, we like to work and it may have been a cause of jealousy. I have been thinking a lot about that. Now they never say anything to us. It's all gone. At least for us. We are highly respected here. Sofus and I.
> AMJ: What about the others from Qullissat?
> Josefine: They don't talk much about it. They have lived here for so many years now so now they have perhaps been accepted.[222]

Almost all my informants from Qullissat mentioned the use of the abusive 'Annangiat'. This internal discrimination was apperently comprehensive and it makes up the second of the four forgettings that I have localised in the dominant narrative about Qullissat. For both Sofus and Josefine there had been some hard years with the abuse of alcohol and pills. It had almost destroyed their marriage but fortunately they found a way to confront their challenges through therapeutic treatment.

One emotional community?

In the mediated memories analysed and described above, Qullisarmiut are portrayed as a vulnerable group in one comprehensive 'emotional community' (Wetherell 2012; Scheer 2012:16) of Greenlanders who all feel sympathy for them. Sofus and Josefine's memories tell another story, but in the political narrative this became subordinated. The then-Premier of Greenland, Kuupik Kleist, has explained: 'It seems to me that the closing down of the town and the spreading of us all over the country actually made the Greenlandic society and the Greenlandic people come together around one, joint case. No matter if we were welcomed or not, everybody was affected. Up through the 1970s a strong movement against Danish remote control started […]. I believe that the biggest force sprang from here, from Qullissat, and it was a force that affected the rest of the population.' (Sørensen 1993:174).

Some former Qullisarmiut subscribed to this political narrative about Qullissat, which contributes to a postcolonial discourse that is valid up until today, of Danish guilt on the one side

[222] Interview no.22, R05_00:30, 00:51:55.

and Greenlandic suffering and shame on the other. While there is a Greenlandic naming practice that makes an entity of everybody who comes from the same place, this does not necessarily mean that this community links the collective memory with the same meanings or emotions (cf. Chapter 3). When meeting former Qullisarmiut in Ilulissat and conducting interviews with eight of them, I realized that already from the 1970s their memory practices took quite different roads. One of them, Sophie, who left Qullissat as a young girl, without regrets, never perceived herself as a part of a particular community. In vivid memory practices Qullissat is still largely a part of her life but she has never gone to see the movies 'And the authorities said stop' or 'Sume - the sound of a revolution', or the musical 'Qullissara', she has never enjoyed Sumé singing 'Qullissat' and never considered the history of Qullissat in political terms. She is not active in 'Ilulissani Qullissat Ikinngutai' but she commemorates Qullissat in her everyday and stays in Qullissat for two or three weeks every summer. As it is for quite a few others of those people who return every summer, Qullissat is to her simply an extraordinarily enjoyable locality that she adores for all its beauty, tranquility and frequent visits of whales - all of which in combination with sweet nostalgia have by several of my informants been termed as 'healing capacities' (interview no. 21 (Sophie), no. 40 (Johanne), no. 22 and no. 23 (Sofus and Josefine), and no. 38 (Isabella and Mathilde)). Sophie extends this feeling through weekly visits to a church, which was in all its materiality moved from Qullissat to Ilulissat in 1974 to pay service to the former Qullisarmiut.

Sophie donates new plastic flowers to the church each year for Easter and for Christmas, just as she dreams of being able to purchase new chairs for the choir one day. On Sophie's walls there are plenty of photographic images from Qullissat, competing and overlapping with images of family members. Most prominently hangs a framed image of her family one New Year's Eve in Qullissat. While we looked at her photographs she, smilingly as always when she talked about Qullissat, remembered:

> 'The nature. So quiet. When you have grown up … and then you think…. When I was in Qullissat I looked around and it is like the images you see. I receive moving images when I… when you have had a childhood… well… and then you think about how much we were alive back then and in comparison to today. All that… my parents, my siblings are dead and that's how I live now. But back then, we did not think about it. We were just happy. And it was lovely… yes. But when I am in Qullissat I think back a lot. Lovely… It was a lovely life back then. And then you

> get happier. All that… when you go for a walk in the street you think, well, I was so happy then, but sometimes sad as well. And sometimes it was so much fun and…. That's how you think, right?'[223]

While some Qullisarmiut have willingly shared their private photographs from Qullissat in mass-mediated representations such as books and television and film, Sophie's memory practices were much more private (Dijck 2007:12–3) and she had never even thought of making them public. The discourses around Qullissat that I engage with made no sense to her, and in her memory practices of Qullissat she was not concerned with any public image of the town. She stressed the personal feelings of fulfilment and satisfaction in the memory acts that she conducted and in her friendships related hereto. Her memory practices embedded the persons, places and events that she had experienced. We may say that to her, the landscape of Qullissat thus became a memoryscape, which is - as noted by Sejersen - 'often felt rather than verbalized' (Sejersen 2004:74).

Highly aware of the public discourses, Niels Peter was also highly sceptical of them. Like Sophie, he had vivid personal memory practices concerning Qullissat, though of a different shape. He was a historian and author[224], and he had inherited numerous photo albums of school classes in which he could point out and name a good majority. On his walls uncountable photographs and maps testified to his childhood in Qullissat in the 1950s and 60s. He had only been back once, but he commemorated his childhood home (Image 17) with several photographs in his album and told me: 'This place was our world. Our playground in the summer and in the winter … a ski resort! It was really a fantastic place. My father built the house himself'[225].

[223] Interview nr. 41
[224] As mentioned above, he had strong opinions about what he saw as a lie about the decision making regarding the closing down of the town.
[225] Interview nr. 11 R05_0008, 01:06:20.

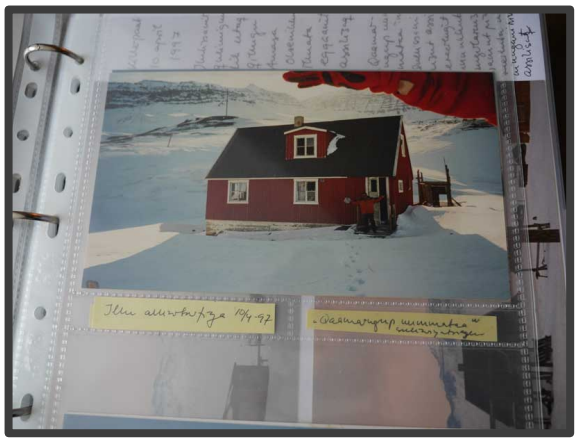

Image 17.

Niels Peter wished that town had never had to close down because 'it was a nice place to grow up and it made sense as a money economy, instead of the insecurities of the hunters' way of living and economy'[226]. However, he had only been back to Qullissat one summer because he felt that these gatherings were 'for holier-than-thou attitudes about many things that may not have any roots in reality'[227]. I asked him about his opinion on the mass-mediated memories of Qullissat and he said:

> 'I think that Sume is a sort of falsification of history, if I may. Because their attack was directed towards the Danish government. It was a Greenlandic wish to get a development started, people wanted to raise the living standards. It was G50… better living standards and education and health. That was the motive. Those were the things that were executed because G50 was about moving people from houses that were unhealthy and cold in the winter. Where people started to use the wood interior for heating the houses. That was the policy that SUME was arguing against in their lyrics, you may say.'[228]

Niels Peter pointed out that people have 'always' moved and travelled in order to follow the best hunting fields or fishing grounds and that it has also in other cases caused social problems that were passed on to the next generation.[229]

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[226] Interview nr. 11 R05_0008, 35:40.
[227] Interview nr. 11 R05_0008, 28:13.
[228] Interview nr. 11 R05_0008, 01:21:33.
[229] Interview nr. 11, R05_0008, 01:16:10.

People's memory practices related to Qullissat demonstrate a very broad spectrum of both emotional and memory practices ranging from affection, joy and happiness to denial, resentment and trauma and to political, therapeutic and artistic engagements. To speak of former Qullisarmit as one 'emotional community' (Scheer 2012:216; Wetherell 2012) is therefore only possible if one subscribes to substantial forgettings.

While there is an affective, highly political narrative of Qullissat that dominates the mass-mediated memories, it now encounters competing narratives at local and personal levels. Due to the diverging memory practices, many of the former Qullisarmiut seem to challenge the limits of the imagined 'emotional community' that the mass-mediated memories promote. Furthermore, the former Qullisarmiut who every summer visit the former town are in the process of redirecting their emotional practices, and this leads towards a narrative that does not any longer fit into a postcolonial scheme of Danish guilt and Greenlandic shame.

From 'tragic object' to 'happy object'

Sofus has been the chairman of 'Ilulissani Qullissat Ikinngutai' since 1986 and he represents the generation who themselves experienced the removal from Qullissat. The active and highly entrepreneuial 45-year-old treasurer, Sara, and her 50-year-old husband, Jørgen represent the post-generation who inherited the memories and to a certain extent the emotions of shame, sorrow and anger that the parental generation attached to Qullissat. During an interview with Sara, Jørgen and Sara's mother Dorthe, we talked about the relief they experienced when seeing the musical 'Qullissara', written and performed by the National Theatre in Nuuk on the request of 'Ilulissani Qullissat Ikinngutai'.

> AMJ: Were you satisfied with how it turned out?
> Jørgen: Yes we were. But eh… we were also sad… All kinds of feelings were there. But in the end you get really happy.
> Sara: You get proud, yes. All kinds of emotions were there. But in the end you get so proud, really. That your parents come from Qullissat. You just want to scream to the world 'I am a descendant of Qullissat', because when we were kids, we were mocked.
> Jørgen: Mocked and…
> AMJ: Were you mocked as well?
> Dorthe: Yes, yes. Mocked as well. And they look upon us as if: 'Oh, that's their daughter, she… they

are from Qullissat', so both in school and...

Jørgen: That is why she says that the descendants feel it too. It does hurt. What have I done to be in this situation?

AMJ: So it stuck to you for many years?

Jørgen: Yes, for generations.

AMJ: Okay, even that people would… I did hear… people have told that when they moved from there, in '69 and '70 and '72, people would sometimes yell at them in the street. But it kept on?

Sara: It keeps on. It has been really bad. It is still there, but not as bad as then. But it is still there.

AMJ: So people may still look down on you because you come from there?

Sara and Jørgen: Yes, yes.[230]

The organisation 'Ilulissani Qullissat Ikinngutai' has, since 2002, engaged in active memory works and been largely successful in a collective process of redemption and healing of psychological wounds. On the initiative of Sofus and Josefine, who had themselves gone through several therapeutic sessions, a collective space for unleashing difficult memories has been created during visits to the abandoned town. It began at the 30th jubilee of the removal, in 2002, when the organisation encouraged former Qullisarmiut to stand up in the crowd in the community hall and tell their stories of sorrow, degradation, abuse and longing. A number of former Qullisarmiut accepted the offer and stood up and confessed their sins and hardships - recorded by rolling cameras[231]. Parts of it were broadcast in a three-part reportage KNR production[232] and thus made available to the entire Greenlandic population as a collective mediated memory.

In the years that followed, many people were helped by such confessional events, now outside the limelight of the media, to overcome the shame, sorrow and anger and find their way back to happier memories of the time when Qullissat was a living, modern and internationally oriented industrial society. Former Qullisarmiut and their descendants started to write new narratives in which they

[230] Interview nr. 39, 00:20:30.

[231] It may have reminded some of the broadcasts a few years earlier of the workings of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which confronted victims and perpetrators face to face, but this was different, among other matters because it was a one-sided process.

[232] KNR November 2002, private recordings made available to me by one of my students at Ilisimatusarfik.

participated as active agents, just as the legacy of the town was freed from the sticking negative emotions and even tended towards appearing as a 'happy object' (Ahmed 2010).

Sara was the driving force behind the 40th jubilee activities in Qullissat in 2012 when 1,000-1,200 people visited the abandoned town, and most of Greenland heard about the jubilee in the media, in exhibitions, and in the musical 'Qullissara'. She had fundraised for the entire event, invited SUME to play 'Qullissat' for the first time, coordinated with the National Theatre on the script of 'Qullissara', and arranged with Kuupik Kleist for him to hold his wedding, just as she had managed the programme, the budget and the communication with the press. She told me that one particular sentence had been important for her and the organisation in 2012, just as it had been important to include in the media coverage of the Queen's visit to Qullissat in July 2015, namely 'Let us look forward with joy':

> Sara: I think that Qullissat has it all. The landscape. Even though there is no electricity. But… well…one always experiences something.
> AMJ: Yes. People say that you are recharged in a way? But don't you get sad when you think about the history… it is often represented as a sad history.
> Jørgen: That is why there was this new proposal: 'Do we want to be sad every year?' 'Should we move a step forward?' and say 'We accept it.' And then we take the next step and say 'Let's enjoy it!'
> Sara: The theme in 2012 was 'Let us look forward with joy'. It was actually I who phrased it.
> AMJ: Do you think that everybody is ready for it?
> Sara: No, not the elders. But the young people among us. Well, for those who have a social heritage, which they are passing on to their descendants, that thing is still there. But we can cut it here and say 'No, there is nothing to do about it now.' Now we are grown-ups. Now we are the ones who can do something about it. Then… it is closed now. We cannot go back and open it. WE cannot. We must either move on and accept it and then…
> Jørgen: Or we will live in sorrow until we die. That's not how we want to live.
> Sara: One must live and be happy and grateful for the fact that Qullissat has existed. We cannot change the past …[233]

[233] Interview nr. 39, 00:41:10

Monique Scheer has described how the emotional practice of naming feelings 'is part and parcel of experiencing them' (Scheer 2012:212), and it makes for instance the writing of a slogan a potentially powerful act. If one says, 'I am angry' for instance, it becomes an emotive statement and through this articulation the emotion is nourished and grows. However, this is only the case in so far as it resonates in a body that is emotionally prepared, that is, if the given emotion is already a part of the habitus. 'If naming emotions makes them available to experience, then charting changes in naming means writing a history of feeling in the fullest sense', Scheer (2012:214) concludes. It is a memory work that exercises a remarkedly hard agency (Ortner 2006:134), yet at the same time it is bounded by the available storage of emotional memories and can only take place if it really makes sense to people to feel happy about Qullissat now. If so, it can become a functional memory (A.Assmann 2011:129) that may legitimize other, new discourses.

It now seems clear that if the affective narrative about Qullissat as a 'tragic object'- so often represented in collective cultural memories and re-produced by artists and journalists - shall continue to work, it demands a forgetting of these remarkable changes in the emotional memory practices of the former Qullisarmiut who gather in the abandoned town every summer. So far they have been happy to be the object of attention by the media and have therefore collaborated with and fed into the discourse of a tragic legacy of Qullissat that the media keeps reproducing; but they may in the future become increasingly sensitive towards divergences in these from their actual emotional memory practices.

7.g. New futures for Qullissat?

The visions about how Qullissat is going to look in the future are not any less diverse than the memory practices of the town are. When I asked Sara and Jørgen how they envisioned the future of Qullissat, they sparkled with ideas of re-inhabiting the abandoned town permanently or for shorter periods of time, of rebuilding new structures, restoring some of the existing ones, organizing youth camps for socially vulnerable children, who would through contact with nature and the primitive conditions encounter other sides of themselves, and of working here by long distance when the technologies of the near future make it possible. On the request of Sara, TELE-Greenland had already set up a mobile phone mast on the opposite side of the Vajgat strait, in Saqqaq, with a coverage including Qullissat.

When interviewing employees in four of Ilulissat's tourist agencies, I heard visions about a hitherto sporadic tourism activity in Qullissat which might have a larger potential when the city, as planned by Naalakkersuisut [234], will develop a larger tourism structure in the immediate future[235]. Well-travelled and well-off American and Asian tourist groups, which increasingly request combining the unique experiences of nature with cultural events and cultural heritage, including industrial heritage, may become a growing resource as the tourism industry grows. Without exception, all of my Qullisarmiut informants welcomed increasing streams of tourists to Qullissat, as a resource for developing the town and fundraising for the restauration of roads, the community hall, the modest museum, etc. In the municipal offices, in contrast, such ideas were not met with much sympathy. Mayor Ole Dorph[236], himself a tourism agent with a wife from Qullissat, did not envision the abandoned town as a tourism site, even less as a suitable place for permanent settlement. Qaasuitsup Municipality owns the area and, by default, the material stuctures, but they have transferred the rights of use to 'Ilulissani Qullissat Ikinngutai', who manage the area and determine who are allowed into which buildings. According to one municipal chief consultant 'The general understanding is that it is theirs, and the Municipality respects that'[237]. At the same time, it works as a waiver of economic liability for restoration, renovation and development, which is now resting on the economy of the association that only generates an income from bingo games in the winter months in Ilulissat and Qullissat in the summer. It does not go far in the dilapidated town, and during the summer of 2015 the town saw two severe accidents that regular renovation works might have impeded: an accident of one man falling from a bridge and breaking his foot, and another of one of the houses burning down to the ground.

[234] The Greenlandic government.
[235] An extension of the capacity of the airport was intensely debated in the spring and summer of 2015, and it resulted in a Naalakkersuisut decision that Ilulissat is, from 2017, going to service the Atlantic airbuses, hereby making Ilulissat a direct destination for American as well as European airlines.
[236] Interview no.34.
[237] Interview no. 35.

7.h. Memories of the Black Angel

Contrary to the case of Qullissat, one may search in vain for film or music and for rather a long time for books or photographs or other testimonies of the Black Angel[238]. Generally, when I inquired why this was so, people replied that few Greenlanders were employed at 'The Black Angel' and that contrary to in Qullissat, the Black Angel was just a place where one stayed for a few months without one's family. However, I knew that the Black Angel had employed up to 400 Greenlandic and foreign workers, and had provided the backdrop for Greenland's first and, up to now, only employee strike, which had even been a victory for the Greenlandic workers over the Danish management of a Canadian owned company. I wondered if that was not an important collective memory. When I started to talk with some of those hundreds of Greenlanders who had worked there, it became clear that the personal memories of these working assignments, even when on rather short terms, often had a huge significance and they proudly told stories in which they were definitely agents in their own lives. I therefore decided to let my wondering guide me and talk more in depth with four former miners and a then-prominent labor union consultant.

Maarmorilik and the Black Angel

As in Qullissat, a mining city was at an early point in time, already in 1933, established in Maarmorilik, employing only Greenlandic workers who usually lived there with their families. Maarmorilik got its name from the marble broken in an open quarry at the beach. In the late 1930s more than 200 persons lived there, including a factor[239] and a cathecist (Sejersen 2014:47). When the city closed in 1940 some families moved to Qullissat, and most of the huts were taken down and reconstructed in Qullissat. A new quarry opened after the war and it functioned, like the Qullissat coalmine, until 1972. Now the Canadian Greenex started extracting lead, zink and silver in a new mine, the Black Angel, with an entrance 600 metres above sea level (Sejersen 2014:47; Lodberg 1990:52). The new mining society that came into existence here was totally different because now the men who were recruited, primarily foreigners, lived

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[238] Danish researchers published some reports during the operation period of the mine (Dahl 1980; Dahl 1977; Hertz 1977), the Greenlandic Workers Society published a report (Lauritzen 1978) right after the strike, and Greenex actively attempted to form a positive legacy of the mine at the closing of it (Lodberg 1990). All these publications are in the Danish language.

[239] The *factor* (kolonibestyrer) was in the Greenlandic context a person responsible for the management and trade in the settlement or town.

here alone, with their families only coming on occasional visits. The men typically worked on short term contracts of two, three or four months, and to the Greenlanders work in the mine was often a supplement to their ordinary salaries from hunting and fishing. Many here took the chance to save up for a new boat, a snow scooter or a share in a shrimp trawler. The workforcewas much more international here than in Qullissat, and the workers in Maarmorilik came from Finland, Norway, France, Canada and Denmark. To many Greenlanders it was an unusual experience of isolation. During one of my interviews with a former miner, Karl, I showed him a picture of the helicopter that used to bring the miners to the Black Angel from the town of Uummannaq. When he saw the wellknown image he remembered:

> 'We were like on an island outside Greenland. The connections to the rest of Greenland were very weak. When you wanted to call your family you had to go through the radio in Nuuk. It is not long ago – '77 – right? Today it is so easy, no matter where you are, to get in contact with others on the coast. That is also why it has been hard, and some couldn't work there because they missed their families.'[240]

Yet Karl described the pleasures of being together, Greenlandic and foreign colleagues alike, especially during leisure times where fitness, football, hiking, hunting and excursions over the ice on sledge or by boat to Uummannaq were welcome amusements.

One elderly miner, Egon, whom I also wrote about in Chapter 6, stood out with his bitter memories:

> 'I was not much in touch with the other workers. There were some from France and Germany… there were many Europeans. It turned out that they were only out to earn money here in Greenland. What would they do if we just went to Europe and took their jobs? What would they say to us then?'[241]

[240] Interview no. 12, R05_0026, 00:10:40.
[241] Interview no. 14, R05_0029, 00:12:27.

He expressed that he had felt uncomfortable by having such an 'international mini society' on Greenlandic territory. He was happy that he later came to work in the fisheries in Ilulissat because, as he said, here you were free from Danish interventions. The other informants described an internal solidarity across the different nationalities. Working in a mine is hard work and the days were often long, but at the same time it was a very special experience that many remembered as an outstanding period of their lives.

Three out of my four interviewees would go back to work in the Black Angel should they get the chance again. They expressed this as a concrete and pragmatic wish rather than an emotional or nostalgic one, as they stressed that they missed the good salaries and the well-functioning working space. It could be in any mine, and some mentioned for instance the True North Gems' ruby mines at Qeqertarsuatsiaat and Manitsoq, that were in 2015 becoming operational, or mines in other countries such as Norway. The two youngest of them did what they could to stay prepared for work in a mine, by taking courses in 'English for the extractive industries' and in mining techniques at the Greenland School of Minerals and Petroleum in Sisimiut[242].

7.i. A Greeenlandic working class identity

Already three years after its opening, at the very first collective bargainings in 1975, equal wages for the Greenlandic miners in relation to the foreign miners at the Black Angel was a central issue and in 1977 it came to a strike, which became the first in Greenland and the biggest conflict in the history of the Greenlandic Workers' Society, GAS[243]. 'We went on strike to obtain higher salaries' Karl explained. He had only just started working in the mine when the strike started. He continued: 'For the first two years, the Greenlanders did not receive the same as the other workers and they were not satisfied, for sure.'[244]

GAS had formerly argued in favour of a birthplace criterion that allocated higher salaries to the foreign workers temporarily stationed in Greenland, in order to attract qualified manpower, and

[242] Interview no.12 and 13.
[243] Da.: Grønlands Arbejder Sammenslutning (GAS). Since 1978 and the introduction of Home Rule, the organisation has changed its name to the Greenlandic Sulinermik Inuutissarsiuteqartut Kattuffiat (SIK).
[244] Interview no.26, 00:27:58.

they perceived it as a necessity in a period of transition. The situation at the Black Angel, though, was different, and they wrote in 1978:

> 'The mining city is in this regard not a part of the Greenlandic society. Maarmorilik is a working camp that is totally isolated in the middle of one of the most active hunting districts in the Arctic, namely Umanaq. In this camp everybody is a 'foreign worker', nobody a native. It is a life in huts, seven square metres of privacy, an almost 100 percent male society, where only one thing matters: working, which often makes up 17-18 hours of the day. Nobody can say that the Danes have been more deprived than the Greenlanders by being in Maarmorilik' (Lauritzen 1978:13)[245]

On this background, GAS demanded the imposition of equal wages from a miner's first working day for foreign and Greenlandic miners alike, at the collective bargainings in 1977. Greenex's negotiators would accept equal wages after 24 months of work, at the most, and five days of intense negotiations did not alter that in the slightest. However, both the Provincial Council and the Danish trade-union movement expressed support for GAS' standpoint, and therefore GAS decided to go on strike. It ended up lasting for fourteen days and led to the great victory of the Greenlanders that they were to receive the same salary, labour relations and working conditions as the 'foreign working force'. Ameliorations concerning the duration of the contracts, longer vacation and a Greenlandic advisory board were also achieved (Lodberg 1990:74; Lauritzen 1978). After this, the number of Greenlandic employees increased and reached almost 150 in 1981(Lodberg 1990:74).

There were other conflicts at the mine but this one was a regular employer-employee conflict. Studies of mining in the Arctic have often focused on situations in which a local or indigenous population in an area with mining activities ends in a problematic opposition to the experts who, with the 'language of power' override local objections (see for instance Avango 2013). At the Black Angel, the Greenlandic population as such, among whom the miners were recruited, was not in opposition to the interests of the mining company, but at least on two occasions the local

[245] My translation from the Danish.

hunters and fishermen were. When Greenex, in the initial stages of construction, sailed huge ships loaded with ore into the Uummannaq fjord without notifying the hunters ahead, they did meet protests (Dahl 1977; Lodberg 1990:123) and so they did when it was discovered that the mining activities in the entire period of production had caused a discharge of contaminating waste into the ocean. Over the years a surveillance of the discharge was established and the relation between the mining company and the local community ameliorated. After a few years the Municipality of Uummannaq accepted the inconveniences and judged that they were surpassed by the advantages in the form of jobs and tax incomes. When the mine closed in July 1990 it was to their regret, and it was strongly deplored by the mayor of the city when he spoke at the closing ceremony (Lodberg 1990:122–4).

Karl recounted that for the Greenlanders there was no antagonism towards foreign nationalities. Rather, he remembered that the foreign workers had supported the Greenlanders in their struggle for equal wages and better working conditions:

> Our employers were rather strict and expected a lot from us. We were told to behave and never cross the guidelines […] During the strike the other [non-Greenlandic] miners were hindered from working. We blocked the aerial ropeway when they were about to get up and work. They respected that. It was very exciting. We could not win our case alone but our colleagues from Finland, Sweden, Norway, Canada and Denmark supported us. We collaborated with them even though we did not speak the same language and most only spoke their own. But that was not a problem.[246]

The strike also brought the Danish and Greenlandic labour movements closer together because the wage battle was perceived as a joint matter. Jens Lyberth, who was then a consultant for the Union, recounted:

> There was a fight. A real fight. Over the hours and the salaries. We organised a collection in Denmark to finance the strike. And it was the local Unions who

[246] Interview no. 12, , R05_0026, 00:12:06.

> supported us, not the central LO[247]. They gave us 500 kr here and 1,000 kr there, which was enought for us to be able to strike for an entire month.[248]

This break with the severely criticized birth criterion was historical, and in a national perspective it contributed significantly to the abolition of the unequal regulations of salaries for Greenlandic and Danish manpower. Both Greenlandic and Danish media covered the strike[249], but later on the testimonies were largely forgotten. Though Jens Lyberth and I quickly agreed that an interesting book could be written about the Black Angel, no collective memories have until now been passed on. Karl remarked that the good experiences with international collaboration and management could potentially be useful in future mining project.

> Karl: 'I went all in for the strike. We were so young, you know. I was 23 years old then. I just thought that when we got this opportunity, then it became much clearer, to me at least, what I can do for society.'
> AMJ: 'So not just for the workers up there, but for the entire society?'
> Karl: 'Because you can't help thinking that… today in Greenland we talk so much about extractive resources and we want to start this and that and big companies from the outside. If they start on something like this again how will the Greenlanders be treated then?'[250]

Karl here also expressed that he had experienced a strong agency in his own actions, not just to change his own life but to do better for the entire society. This experience of the worker's agency in an industrial setting was supported by his eager use of his camera, reflecting that he ascribed importance to the events. Karl was the only one among my informants from the Black Angel who came to show me his photographs from his time in the mine. The others had either never had any photographs or they had lost them. They did not seem to prioritise such kinds of memory practice, both because it was not a convention in the 1970s and 80s to bring a camera to one's workplace, and because in the years that followed the Black Angel was not thought of as

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[247] LO: The Confederation of Danish Industries. Da.: Landsorganisationen i Danmark.
[248] Jens Lyberth, personal communication, March 2015.
[249] Jens Lyberth, personal communication, March 2015.
[250] Interview no. 26, R05_0086, 00:34:35.

anything special. As Johannes said, when I met him in Ilulissat, and I had asked him if he would bring his photographs:

> I do have quite a lot of photographs but I have moved around and eh… unfortunately I cannot find any. I was just home in Denmark[251] and I searched through all the bags and albums […] I really don't remember where they are. I have moved 1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8… eight places […] I have moved around so many times because I am always in search of the most well paid job. So it is… this is the reason for all these moves.[252]

To Johannes, working in the mine and being a migrant worker was everyday practice, and neither the internationality of the workforce nor the isolation were anything special in his eyes. In contrast, Karl valued his time in the Black Angel as a most loving memory. He realized at the time of the strike, that this was an exceptional moment in the history of Greenland and he therefore took a lot of photographs of the striking workers (Image 18, Image 19). When he told me about them he remembered more and more names, and pointed out some of the leading unionists of the time, Odaq Olsen most notably, who here came to change the course of the development of salary regulations. Photographing, for Karl, meant documenting exceptional events in his life, and when I met with him the first time he also brought a Go Pro video camera and filmed our entire conversation.

Image 18.

[251] Johannes lived mainly in Denmark but worked on a fishing plant on the Greenlandic west coast.
[252] Interview no. 30, R05_0108, 00:16:19.

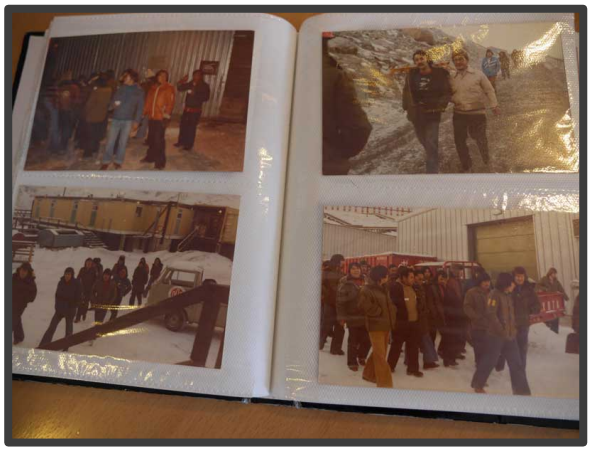

Image 19.

If personal memories about the events at the Black Angel, an industrial workplace where also quite a number of hunters and fishermen achieved a high salary for a short period of time, were largely seen as a gain for those who went there, and if the victorious result of the strike in 1975 has remained personal memories, it is not because the narratives lack drama and excitement, heroes and combats. Rather, I conclude that for personal cultural memories to enter a collective realm they must feed into discourses of significant political validity and that has not been the case for narratives relating to the Black Angel. Agentive Greenlanders and solidarity between Danes and Greenlanders stand in contrast to the postcolonial discourse that I have identified as so omnipotent in the case of Qullissat. So far, the agency that quite a number of Greenlanders experienced in the strike at the Black Angel has come to rest as personal memory without the agentive forces of collective memories.

It seems like a paradox that Karl so clearly experienced strong agency but that it was forgotten so soon and never became a collective memory, and then, in comparison, that the Qullissat experiences of having no agency came to feed into narratives with strong political agencies. I have so far engaged Ortner's understanding of 'soft' versus 'hard agency' (Ortner 2006), but as a means of understanding the complex interplays between agency and emotional memory practices it seems to lack explanatory force and significant detail. In the next chapter I therefore zoom further into the question of agency in memory practices, in the context of the fishing industries, while I seek to differentiate between the different agencies at play.

7.j. Conclusion

Qullissat and the Black Angel were the first industrial mining workplaces in Greenland and their legacies are very different. While the Black Angel has rested exclusively on a personal cultural memory (even though it set the stage for significant and historically important events), the legacy of Qullissat has been closely connected to the strong postcolonial discourse that has evolved in Greenland in the early 1970s. Thus, despite the fact that many personal cultural memories diverge significantly a particular narrative of Qullissat has gained ground – one that reflects and feed into the already existing and predominating public discourse. Here Qullissat is represented as a 'tragic object' and the Qullisarmiut as victims of colonial repression and capitalism.What the Qullisarmiut lost was Greenland's most industrialized society and in that sense it is a paradox to conceive Qullisarmiut as 'victims of modernization'. However, 'modernization' is, in relation to Greenland's history, a denomination of precisely the implementation of the two development programmes G50 (Grønlandskommissionen 1950) and G60 (Grønlandsudvalget 1964). As industrial fisheries were here the overall most important sector, the concentration of the population in a limited number of openwater towns with fish factories was central. The Qullisarmiut, leaving their highly modern and industrial town, therefore came to share the same destiny with urban immigrants from many small settlements, yet they were doubly disturbed, as they were at the same time met with envy for being 'ahead of the others in development'.

The discourse of victimization is based on four essential forgettings that present Qullisarmiut as a community with common experiences of suffering and injustice (A.Assmann 2011:119ff) and legitimize political resistance towards Danish influences and (Cf. Chapter 3). The forgettings are 1) an insistence on an unequivocal Danish blame in the closing down of the mine and the town, whereas Greenlandic politicians were also involved 2) a solidarity among Greenlanders, which was far from always the case when Qullisarmiut were relocated in the other towns on the coast 3) Qullisarmiut as one coherent 'emotional community' (Wetherell 2012) despite the less heard voices of Qullisarmiut who did not suffer by moving from Qullissat and 4) a narration about Qullissat as a 'tragic object' (Ahmed 2010:21), whereas among former Qullisarmiut, including 'Ilulissani Qullissat Ikinngutai'[253], there is a movement towards actively changing the discourse on Qullissat through active emotional memory practices, by naming emotives of happiness (Scheer 2012:213) in

[253] Eng.:'Friends of Qullissat in Ilulissat', da.: 'Qullissats Venner i Ilulissat'.

contrast to the sorrow and pain hitherto associated with the Qullisarmiut. These practices have served a liberating purpose, left room for agentive self-perceptions and lifted a heavy burden from the shoulders of some of those who were long conceived of as victims.

It has, through the cases in this chapter become clear that emotional memory practices may engender strong agencies. Personal or collective memories may even dwell unmediated for years and then, after decades, find relief in a post-generation. If we perceive all the personal memories of the Qullisarmiut, including those which have been subject to repression and taboo, as a large collective storage memory (A.Assmann 2011:129ff), we get a cacophony of narratives and visuals, some of which have been told or showed in the community hall in Qullissat, in therapeutic spaces or in face-to-face conversations. Every single one of these weak memories has the potential to be functionalized if it starts to resonate with other memories.

Chapter 8: Memories from the fishing industry

8.a. Memories of fishing and hunting in the Disko-bay area

The industrial fisheries have since the 1920s been the sector employing the greatest number of Greenlanders and uncontestably the major source of export income[254]. If the mining industry at times has nourished dreams of sudden prosperity and wealth, the fisheries are the actual prime sector which has fed Greenland through the last century just as it most likely will continue to in the future, supplemented by extractive resources and tourism, to feed on as a major resource (Rosing 2014:16ff; Grønlands Økonomiske Råd 2015).

In this chapter, I convey how present and former fishermen and fish factory workers remember the transitions from a lifeway based on hunting to one based on working within industrialized fishing. This chapter draws on three bulks of data: 1) The life-story of a prosperous trawler fisherman, 2) a group of people working in the fishing industries in the Disko Bay, and 3) the story of a city that once flourished due to a shrimp factory and later declined when the same factory was shut down. Most centrally, I aim to grasp how my informants have experienced the room available for their own agency. By nature, it is not an easy question to pose directly, thus I have approached it with methods ranging from film- and photo elicitation, to direct and indirect questioning, the latter mainly by encouraging life history accounts. The answers that I received differed not only due to the variation of methods but also because the experiences and memories of the fishermen and fish factory workers vary largely.

My analysis now zooms in on the question of agency. In the previous chapter I concluded that emotional memory practices may engender strong agencies (cf. Chapter 7), I am now going to elaborate further on the relation between emotion and agency in the three cases mentioned above. I perceive some public figures to be nodal points in the national collective memory, just as, argue that certain narratives – typically speaking about agency and self-determination – largely have been neglected. I have so far applied Ortner's concept of agency using a scale going from 'soft' to 'hard' versions of agency, but in this chapter I add an additional perspective to my

[254] For instance, in 2013 the trade in fish and shellfish provided for as much as 88 % of Greenland's export income (Naalakkersuisut 2016).

analysis by engaging with a model that further differentiate temporally[255] between agency as *'iterational'* (informed by the past), *'projective'* (oriented toward the future), and *'practical-evaluative'* (in relation to present contingencies). As its originators, Emirbayer and Mische, rightly conclude: 'The agentic dimension of social action can only be captured in its full complexity, if it is analytically situated within the flow of time' (Emirbayer and Mische 1998:963).

Towards the end of this chapter I link my perspective on memory as agency with my perspective of memory as emotion, questioning whether we can expect that strong emotional memories will also inherit strong agencies.

8.b. From *kayak* to trawler– Nukannguaq's story

One of the driving forces in Ilulissat's dynamic development (cf. Chapter 2) has for the last four decades been Nukannguaq. He was in the spring of 2015 still an active fisherman despite facing his 75-years birthday – and a knee operation. Photographs were scattered all over the walls in his and Doris' house in central Ilulissat. They commemorated ancestors as well as displayed Nukannguaq's fishing cutters and his biggest catches of mammals and fish. They also munificently compensated for the absence of their three sons, three daughters, fourteen grandchildren and six great-grandchildren, many of whom lived in Denmark and the rest here in Ilulissat. Among Royal Copenhagen porcelain polar bears a walrus cranium with its impressively long teeth rested on a lace bordered serviette (Image 20). On a chest of drawers, an altar-like exhibition displayed photographs of Nukannguaq's family in past and present, his eldest son's first small pair of leather-shoes, two pyrite stones, a pair of pearl embroidered candleholders, and a matchbox (Image 21). In the centre of it all, a photo frame presents Nukannguaq as a young man seal hunting in his *kayak*, he gazes beyond a white piece of canvas camouflaging his body. (Image 22) These home displays reflect that the large family has built its economic success as well as its identity and values on the platform of Nukannguaq's work as a hunter. He had in his youth been a trading assistant in the settlement of Saqqaq and during these years he had admired

[255] I am here inspired by Sejersen (2015) who applies this temporal perspective on agency to his analysis of resilience and adaptation strategies to climate change in Greenland and Canada.

the determined and strong hunters. He wanted to become one of them and - starting from 1960 and lasting for 15 prosperous years - he managed to become a highly succesful hunter.

Image 20.

Image 21.

Image 22.

In 1960 he also married to Doris who gave birth to and raised their six children. Nukannguaq declared with a smile in his eyes:

> I am really grateful that I have found a wife who knows how to process a seal, the skin and everything. Sometimes I came home with a great many seals on my sledge. It made me happy that when I arrived and then travelled the next morning… and then next time I came home she would have processed all the skins. We didn't have running water, you see, so she had to fetch the water and flense the seals and everything AND take care of the children at the same time. I always left before the kids awakened and when I came home they were already asleep. Because I wanted to leave while the ice was there. Sometimes it can break without notice... So I am really happy that my wife and I collaborated so well. [256]

The area around Nukannguaq's settlement Saqqaq just on the opposite side of the Vajgat strait from Qullissat was rich in sea mammals and renowned as a great hunters' area. At that time, the mining city of Qullissat was lively and the industrial workers appreciated the Greenlandic food that the hunters offered to them. Nukannguaq sold his prey to the Qullisarmiut and he earned

[256] Interview nr 17b. R 05_0034, 01:18:58.

really good money on the seal meat and skins. Although he tried to be modest, he couldn't help telling stories and showing photographs (Image 23) about his achievements in the *kayak*:

> Once a Danish researcher engaged me to catch as many seals as possible in a day. When I reached 25 seals I didn't bother anymore, all these different seals… He wanted to see what was possible and he had to examine their jaws. There were ring seals and young harp seals[257].

Image 23.

Despite their success, in 1975 he and Doris foresaw that times would change and decided that they wanted to change occupation in order to offer their children better opportunities in life. Thus they invested in the auspicious shrimp industry – they purchased a trawler and moved about 50 km south to Ilulissat. This first trawler was a used one that Nukannguaq renovated and he now educated his three sons both in trawler-fishing and in hunting.

> At the time when Vajgat still froze over, you would need strong dogs who could cope with the winter. That is the most important thing for a hunter, to take good care of the dogs, because you need them in the winter in order to earn money. When the ocean iced up we set up nets in the ice and caught the seals. I took the boys with me to teach them how to do it all. They had their own dogs from the time

[257] Interview nr 17a. R 05_0022, 00:42:42.

> when they were just small kids and I'm not lying when I say that they are good hunters even today.[258]

For Nukannguaq and Doris the most important thing has been to give the boys an education in order for them to develop their skills and by time - as has gradually been the case since 1998 - take over from Nukannguaq. Today each of them has his own fishing cutter and Nukannguaq proudly declared:

> We are very delighted that our children are so independent. That they are not a nuisance to anybody, that they are successful and independent of us. It makes us very happy… because many young people are neglected in their upbringing. They have no self-control and I feel sorry for them.[259]

Nukannguaq knew how hard life could be through working for improved social and educational conditions in the municipal council in Ilulissat for 27 years. In Ilulissat he was recognized as a powerful person who had achieved a lot in his political life. One of his first ambitions had been to pave the way for new schools to be built in each of the settlements in the vicinity of Ilulissat. The social administration was his second commitment and he remembered working with

> …happy people and with sad people, with addicts… We are all so diverse. Those who had social problems were always so friendly and grateful towards me and it made me strong in my efforts. That's why we achieved good results, even though it has taken time.[260]

Apart from being a respected politician, a successful fisherman, and the patriarch of a large and well-functioning family, Nukannguaq was for 36 years a member of the Board of the Disko Bay Shrimp Fishers' Organisation[261].

The story of Nukannguaq and Doris' family reflects general developments in the fisheries in the Disko Bay area during the last half century: from hunting to predominantly shrimp fishing and

[258] Interview nr 17b. R 05_0034, 00:50:45.
[259] Interview nr 17a. R 05_0022, 00:35:09.
[260] Interview nr 17b. R 05_0034, 01:06:20.
[261] The organization is a subdivision of the Organization of Fishermen and Hunters in Greenland, KNAPK.

by today large-scale halibut fishing and only occasional hunting trips, which are now recreational rather than professional[262]. They have pragmatically adapted to fluctuations in hunting and fishing opportunities, regulations, and available technologies. The family used to have as many as 50 dogs but today only one of the three sons keeps dogs, a flock of ten grown-ups and three puppies[263]. The three sons own each their trawler, but Nukannguaq's trawler is the last one that has a permission to fish in sheltered waters. He complained that whereas they used to protect the shrimp breeding grounds the large trawlers are now fishing closer and closer to the coast. As a result, Nukannguaq argued, the shrimps are getting smaller and smaller. In the Disko Bay Shrimp Fishers' Organisation he has worked against such over-fishing but the sharp competition is only growing, putting a lot of pressure on the resources along the northwestern coast, all the way up to Upernavik. The large shrimp trawlers are owned either by cooperatives of fishermen or, mainly, by Royal Greenland, which is owned by the Self-Rule Government. The opportunities for smaller shrimp fishermen have gradually decreased, and whereas in the 1970s everyone could fish for shrimps, crab, cod, halibut and other fishes and market them without any limits, today quotas have been introduced and gradually intensified out of necessity.

> Before 2009 the small shrimp fishermen were allowed to be here. Today we are the only ones left in Ilulissat with a small shrimp trawler as the Self-rule government wants to dominate it all.[264]

Doris complained. She reported how their own trawler had not been on the sea since 2010 as the office issuing fishing licenses issued a ban on them sailing in it. The vessel had cost them a lot of money because it had been sent for reparation in both Denmark and Greenland several times, and in 2010 when they got the ban they had spent all their savings to fix it again. The otherwise mild and moderate Nukannguaq raged:

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[262] The number of hunters in Greenland is decreasing. 16,000 reindeer were killed in 2008 and only 11,000 in 2014. The hunt in seal is decreasing most significantly: in 2009 142,000 seals were shot, and in 2014 only 89,000. Even though many people living in cities and towns also go hunting, the numbers may relate to the fact that there is a simultaneous tendency of urbanization: in 2016 17,300 people lived in Nuuk, and 14,600 in 2005, whereas the numbers from the roughly sixty settlements in the same period of time were 9,200 and 7,400, respectively (Grønlands Statistik 2016).

[263] The decline in dogsledding has caused several agents to issue a warning that its disappearance may be a loss in several respects, and dogsledding practice has been inscribed into the most recent (October 2016) coalition agreement, just as it is the subject of a recently launched research project at the Natural History Museum of Denmark, Qimmeq, see http://qimmeq.ku.dk/english/

[264] Interview nr 17b. R 05_0022, 00:33:59.

> I spent all that I had saved and we were still banned from sailing. We haven't been on the sea for more than four years! And therefore we have not had any income. In April they informed us that we were allowed to sail again, but I am not going anywhere until they compensate me for what I have lost due to the ban. It was not on our own accord that we stopped fishing for five years![265]

Although the family was not in need of anything, the current situation in the fisheries and the sad story of Nukannguaq's last trawler in particular, bothered them. Doris felt that they had been discriminated by the fishing authorities who had been irregular in issuing quotas and prohibiting them from fishing for so long. Their particular conflict with the Self-Rule administration was not just a matter of their private economy. It was equally about their concern for the resources offered to them by nature as well as for the local social environment, here in the shape of solidarity with the smaller fishermen.

These recent experiences notwithstanding, Nukannguaq had through his whole life experienced a high degree of autonomy. When he looked back he perceived himself as an influential agent in the development of industrial fishing in the Disko Bay area and the conditions had offered him an arena for acting out his aims and ambitions - both in the private sphere and as a politician with the capacity to improve life for his fellow citizens. It was only following the introduction of the Self-Rule administration in 2009 and the subsequent regulations of the fisheries that his experience of agency had narrowed.

8.c. Corporeal memories

Villads, another fisherman in Ilulissat, was, like Nukannguaq, raised to become a hunter and lived as such for a number of years before he gradually went into the fisheries. As most other former hunters, he never totally stopped hunting. Like many other fishermen he now signed on somebody else's cutter or trawler and now and then went out in his dinghy, when time and weather allowed for it, to catch a seal or beluga whale to supplement the wages.

Resuscitated after a serious stroke two years ago, Villads had only partially recovered and thus had had to move into a room in the basement of Ilulissat's nursing home. There, he spent most of

[265] Interview nr 17b. R 05_0022, 00:08:18.

his waking hours processing the several-hundred-meters-long lines that are used for halibut fishing. Villads grew up as the youngest in a family of five brothers, a sister, and no parents. As a young boy in the settlement of Ritenbenk[266] a great hunter had trained him in the skills of *kayak* hunting and dogsledding, and together with his eldest brother he had lived fine from catching seals and selling them in the mining city of Qullissat. 'My brother bought a small cutter… well, at that time it was huge'[267] he grinned, pointing from one wall to the other in his little bedroom. 'I remember it so clearly. Suddenly we didn't have to row the boat. We just sat there and on our entire first trip with the fishing cutter we just kept on smiling. We were so impressed.'[268] Though this first cutter had allowed them to stay on the sea for three or four days, they had kept hunting seals, and only after moving to Ilulissat in 1958, they bought a shrimp cutter. In 1957, a modern shrimp factory had opened in Qasigiannguit and Villads was trained there and thus gained the skills to start fishing as well. 'I could decide on my own whether I wanted to go out in my *kayak* or a boat, depending on the weather. Now I was educated both as a hunter and a fisherman'[269], Villads proudly declared.

Even though Villads' life history had a rough beginning as he was a member of an unprivileged and orphaned flock of siblings, and despite the fact that he never gathered economic and cultural capital in the fisheries on a scale comparable to Nukannguaq, Villads and his elder brother had managed to live well and create opportunities for themselves, leaving him with a strong feeling of agency in his own life. To a large degree this had been possible due to his skills in hunting and fishing – as well as the openings in the two sectors at that time – and the joy and pride of hunting were clearly reflected in Villads' visual memory practices. On his sparsely decorated walls, I spotted a photograph of Villads smiling from the bridge on a fishing cutter (Image 24) another with a beluga on a ship deck (Image 25) and a third one with three straight-backed fishermen posing behind two huge beluga whales on the ice in the front (Image 26).

[266] Today Ritenbenk is named 'Appat'. It is situated about 50 km north of Ilulissat.
[267] Interview nr 38 R 05_0044, 00:23:15
[268] Interview nr 38 R 05_0044, 00:49:25.
[269] Interview nr 38 R 05_0044, 00:37:09.

Image 24.

Image 25.

Image 26.

Villads' memory capacity was not intact and, most sadly, he didn't remember whether his brothers were still alive today or not. His year of birth had faded into oblivion whereas he perfectly remembered that his birthday is 27 February. However, he kept coming back to his learned skills of kayaking and when he spoke about it, his eyes and hands never stopped moving, he demonstrated how to place the feet in the right position, how to move the body when the *kayak* had to be rolled around, and how to zigzag when sledding down a steep hill. Bodily incorporated memories (Connerton 1989) of kayaking, hunting and dogsledding skills were still dwelling in Villads' around-80-years-old body. Sitting on the edge of his bed in his little pastel coloured room, now dependant on the daily care of others, he expressed his obvious joy in bodily memories of being there, out on the ocean, with the sight of a seal on a nearby ice flake. To Villads the *kayak* represented a most joyful, living and corporeal memory. His eyes shined as he recalled the three different *kayak*s that they had had and how fond of sailing he was. He loved the nature and the social codes in the cases when he met somebody out on the sea. Here, nobody would talk but just observe one another and each continue to do their job.

If a strong discourse of industrialization and modernization in the last half of the 20th century has victimized Greenlanders in general and offered an image of very limited local agency, memories of some of the fishermen, such as Nukannguaq's and Villads', point in a very different direction. As outlined in the previous chapter, this stood clear to me very early in my fieldwork in Ilulissat and I aimed to collect more life-stories of fishermen, curious to see if such strong agency was generally a component of the memories of industrialization of the fisheries in the Disko Bay area.

8.d. The hunter

One may speculate to what extent the positive attitudes in society towards the hunter figure has had an impact on Villads' bodily memory practice. Most of us tend to value the experiences of our youth above experiences from all other periods in our lives and Villads may have been moved by simple nostalgia on this rare occasion of people (the interpreter and I) listening to his youth memories. On the other hand he was, most likely without conscious intentions, reproducing a discourse of the hunter figure as authentic and associated with the emotion of pride. *Kayak*s are frequently iconized in advertisements and logos, but Villads embodied the hunting practice as lived experience. In a historical perspective the value of hunting in Greenland can neither in material nor symbolic terms be overestimated, and in the cultural history of Greenland the hunters' practices and material equipment are continuously both admired and

studied (see for instance Petersen 1986; Walls 2014) and so is his role as an icon of authenticity (for instance Fienup-Riordan 1995; Kleivan 1988; Thomsen 1998; Rud 2017). The popular pride in the hunter figure in Greenland has interacted with a longstanding occupation within the disciplines of ethnography, archaeology and anthropology for documenting and understanding the cultural habits of hunter-gatherer societies[270].

In chapter 5, I described how Nukannguaq had handed in his hunting equipment to Ilulissat Museum and brought forward that my informants perceived this to be a reasonable act because the hunter's practices should not be forgotten. In other words, the hunter figure has become a nodal point (Laclau and Mouffe in Jørgensen and Phillips 2002:25) in the Greenlandic cultural heritage discourse. It reflects a celebration of the hunter figure dating back to the colonial administration that for several decades attempted to keep hunters from turning to fishermen and only from the 1950s changed this attitude. The hunter figure continues to be perceived as 'the genuine Greenlander' and he incarnates two core values that are largely claimed to be valid still today, namely a strong sense of collectivity and a collective sharing of the resources. Whereas the hunter lived by ancient rules of sharing the prey, the fisherman does not. Whereas trade was not an activity of the traditional hunter the fisherman bases his very existence here upon. The hunter inhabits solidarity and care for his surroundings and does not interfere with the exterior world. He lives in a community of physical relations where everybody he meets is his fellows. The modern Greenlander lives in an imagined community (Anderson 2006) defined by abstract associations and projections. Here, language serves as the defining category for inclusion and exclusion. Previously the predominant self-perception between Greenlanders could be boiled down to 'a genuine Greenlander is somebody who knows how to paddle his kayak'[271] but it has in recent decades been replaced by: 'A genuine Greenlander is somebody who knows how to speak Greenlandic' as expressed by the activist and politician Aqqaluk Lynge in the documentary film 'Sume – the sound of a Revolution' (Høegh 2014).

In regards to the relation between Denmark and Greenland there has traditionally been a strong narrative about Danish interests being the reason for the detriment of the traditional hunter

[270] Here, the list of references becomes too long to make sense but I will mention just one example, namely the anthology with the iconic title 'Man the Hunter'(Lee & DeVore (eds.) 1968).
[271] See (Thomsen 1998:34–6) for a pertinent analysis on the changing narrative practices on 'the genuine Greenlander'.

culture, but in 2010 the Greenlandic-Danish historian Jens Heinrich (2010) brought forward, that this was merely a myth. One of the main points in his PhD dissertation is that Grønlands Styrelse, headed by director Knud Oldendow, represented a very conservative line in the post-war years, and that it strived for keeping Greenland a society based on traditional hunting and isolated from the rest of the world. 'Ever since about the year 1900 the Danes had been of the conviction that Greenland's economy would do best without foreign involvement' Heinrich stated (in Ebdrup 2012)[272]. Oldendow firmly resisted the reforms of self-determination, education and contact with the rest of the world, which the two Greenlandic Provincial councils were fighting for. Yet, in spite of Oldendow's commitment, in the end the progressive Greenlandic politicians prevailed and in 1953 an amendment of the constitution was approved to change Greenland's status from being a colony to being a Danish county and here the road was now paved for the comprehensive programmes of modernization that ensued in the 1950s and 1960s.

8.e. The triviality of the everyday

One fisherman, William, told me that he had had his own camera but 'We did not take photographs when we were out fishing. We never even thought about that.'[273]. When I asked him what he thought about the exhibition in the Ilulissat Museum about the local fishing practices and work in the fish factory, he briefly replied 'it is made like it really looks. It is fine it is there so that the tourists can see how it is.'[274] Apart from that he demonstrated no enthusiasm and it was as if he hardly remembered that it was there, even though his wife was working as an assistant in the museum. Clearly, he did not reflect on this as a collective memory, that is, as an exhibition made for him or for any of Ilulissat's inhabitants.

William had moved hereto from Nuuk whereas all my informants who worked in the industrial fisheries in Ilulissat moved hereto from smaller settlements in the 1950s or the 1960s, when industrial shrimp fishing boomed and the town grew considerably. William would have preferred to work somewhere else, he had tried other sectors after he had realized that he was allergic to shrimps, but in the end he concluded that halibut fishing was the best opportunity that life could offer him. Manasse had been a fisherman but found a more stable income as a foreman in Royal

[272] My translation from the Danish.
[273] Interview nr 20. R 05_0044, 00:05:22.
[274] Interview nr 20. R 05_0044, 00:12:00.

Greenland's factory in Ilulissat, Karl pragmatically switched between the fishing industry, mining and transportation following the fluctuations in the various branches, just as Karen was offered a job in a fish factory for a period of time and then continued in other jobs. These fishermen and fish factory workers did not attach strong emotions to their memories of being in the industry[275]. When I asked them to narrate their life stories they enumerated only the very largest events of their professional lives, key points in their family life or movements from one settlement to another, and they rarely attached emotions or made value judgements onto whether it was good or bad that these things happened. I interpret this rather pragmatic memory practice as either resignation or an expression of a markedly unsentimental life strategy that may serve well when adapting to conditions beyond the decision for the individual. This could be expedient in a colonial context as well as under the rapid social and economic transformations in the postcolonial decades. The main important concern for these people has been about access to resources and social networks rather than about colonial and postcolonial issues. When asked directly, none of them expressed having felt any difference between the administration and legislation during the GTO[276] years and the years that followed the introduction of Home Rule in 1979. Unlike the mining industries, almost all of the people working in the fishing industry were – and still are - Greenlanders. A branch of the Danish Ministry for Greenland, GTO, owned the fish factories but most foremen were Greenlanders just as almost all trawlers were owned by Greenlanders. After 1979, the Home Rule government took over and none of my informants commemorated this as a positive event, rather the contrary is the case, as the Home Rule government introduced shrimp and halibut producing trawlers of a size never seen before.

People have different memory practices, some may be more nostalgic than others, and my selected group of fishermen and fish factory workers may not be representative for all fishermen in the Disko Bay. My selection of informants in the fishing industry in Ilulissat and Qeqertarsuaq is only one sample, and another study may reach other conclusions. For instance the prominent photographer, Ivars Silis (1982; 2000; 2011), has for the last five decades taken everyday life photographs of fishermen working in the fishing industry and they might see their lives

[275] An important exception was Egon who expressed discomfort and outright hatred towards Danes, as I have described in chapter 7.
[276] GTO: Greenland's Technical Organisation. Establshed in 1950 with the purpose to manage the comprehensive construction works in Greenland and operate such technical enterprises as power stations, infrastructure and waterworks.

differently. Like in the case of Nukannguaq and Villads and their pride in the hunting practices, inscribing one's personal memories into collective memories may cause one to see oneself differently. These are examples of the cultural element of memory practices (Dijck 2007:6): Meanings and values are culturally learned and not least one's self-perception is shaped according to learned conventions. If a person has been brought up to be proud of catching seals and walruses and if his surroundings discursively associate the hunter figure with pride it is likely to shine on his entire career even when it turns into industrial fishing, as has been the case for Nukannguaq and Villads.

8.f. Agency in memory practices

Compared to Villads' room in the nursing home and to Nukannguaq and Doris' home, in other fishermen's private homes photographs of fishing cutters and trawlers and whales were almost absent and most often the walls were occupied with photographs of ancestors and descendants, celebrations and family gatherings. If Nukannguaq and Villads had an idea that their hunting practices were a memory worth preservation none of the fishermen and fish factory workers whom I interviewed conceived their past or present working practices to be memories worth much attention and certainly not relevant for museum display. To these informants, who only rarely took photographs it was only on special occasions that the camera came out[277].

It may be tempting to conclude that Villads' and Nukannguaq's kinds of agencies were 'hard' and the others' 'soft' (cf. Chapter 3), but I hesitate to do so. Would their agencies then be 'hard' in the sense that Villads and Nukannguaq had strong and self-conscious intentions with taking and keeping the photographs of themselves as hunters and fishermen when they were young? Or were they 'hard' because they had been successful in shaping their lives largely as they had wanted it? In other words, do we link the degree of strength to intention or to outcome? Ortner has warned against exactly this pitfall of losing 'sight of the complex and highly unpredictable relationship between intentions and outcomes' (Ortner 2006:132). Her answer would be that it was 'hard' agency if their intentions were strong as she accentuate that 'it is the strong role of

[277] At another level, the same tendency is reflected in the fact that internationally, recent museum practices have on a few occasions exhibited contemporary artefacts from a local milieu[277], but these are still relatively rare exceptions and the Greenlandic cultural history museums' exhibitions that I visited generally framed their exhibitions within the confines of distance either in time or in space, the elements from the fish factory in Ilulissat museum being a notable exception.

active (though not necessarily fully "conscious") intentionality in agency that, in my view, differentiates agency from routine practices' (Ortner 2006:136).

I experienced all my informants who had been working in the fisheries as people who had creatively navigated between the possibilities and constraints life had offered. Ortner writes about people executing such kinds of agency and hereby sustaining a culturally meaningful even under conditions where powerful powers seek to devalue or even destroy them, including slavery, colonialism and racism (Ortner 2006:142–7). In such cases, it would be rare to see people execute agencies with strong orientations towards the future, whereas pragmatism is likely to prevail. Emirbayer and Mische have proposed that we conceive of the latter as a *practical-evaluative element* of agency which is temporally oriented towards the present and responding to 'emerging demands, dilemmas, and ambiguities of presently evolving situations' (Emirbayer and Mische 1998:971). Furthermore, agency has *a projective element* in which orientations towards hopes, fears, and desires for the future prevail, and an *iterational element* which has a conservative orientation towards the past. It is the form that I described in chapter 3 as Ortner's 'soft' agency of the princesses in the adventures of the Grimm brothers, and we may also liken it to Connerton's concept of practices conveyed and transmitted in and as a tradition (Connerton 1989:4ff).

In Greenland, the transitions to industrial ways of working took place in a postcolonial context that was still largely reflecting the political interests of a colonial regime, and the consequences of these transitions were complex - and widely differing for my informants. Nukannguaq's father had been a 'colony manager' in his hometown and as a bright young man Nukannguaq had skilfully exploited the benefits of coming from a family with good resources. He had managed to prosper and earn a better living than any other of my informants and he had invested his *projective* (Emirbayer and Mische 1998:971) kind of agency in a political engagement in the shrimp fishermen's organisation and in the Municipality. He had consciously chosen to become a hunter, and later to become an industrial fisherman, and he expressed much pride in all the steps he had taken in his carrier. In contrast, the other fishermen who did not proudly present visual versions of their pasts on their walls, had through their lives executed what Emirbayer and Mische would term *practical-evaluative* forms of agency, and through a creative maneuvering achieved what they themselves perceived as neither more, nor less than satisfactorily careers. William, Manasse, Karl and Karen had all changed occupation several times and they had pragmatically exhausted the possibilities that the new industrial ways of organising the work

force had offered to people in the Disko Bay area during the last half decade. None of these informants mentioned that their room for agency had been restrained by the colonial administration, but still, it was always a part of the context of their memories. The colonial administration appeared not as an oppressive regime, but rather as a subtle organisation of authority which conditioned their lives and which they largely upheld through *iterative* agencies (Emirbayer and Mische 1998:971) sustaining the existing order.

The memories of the fishermen in Ilulissat were predominantly personal. I was offered more memories from the fishing industry in Qasigiannguit, south of Ilulissat, where I met former fishermen and fish factory workers who proudly remembered how they had been on the forefront of developing the industrial fisheries in the area. The case is special in comparison with the industrial fisheries in Ilulissat in the sense that in Qasigiannguit a fish factory was active from 1952 but then closed down in 1997 and thereby shook the means of existence for the entire city. I here experienced how memories of this period of time came to legitimize and shape an emotional community (Wetherell 2012).

8.g. Protagonists in history?

I gained a good opportunity to participate in local museum activities dealing with the former fishing factory in Qasigiannguit, south of Ilulissat, when the local museum director invited me to come and join her activities and screen Jette Bang's documentary film there. Photographs taken by Jette Bang in and around Qasigiannguit hang on the walls in the family care centre in Qasigiannguit, as there had already been held two events in commemoration of Bang's 100-years birthday. The first event had been for the town's health care workers and the second for the club for senior citizens focusing on the old church in town. The time had now come to talk with everybody about the once so important shrimp fisheries and the shrimp factory in the town.

Twenty minutes before it started every chair was occupied and the club members brought in termos and cakes and more chairs. I had posted advertisements on the notice board outside the grocer, Pilersuisoq, and the word had gone around. Some had heard about the screenings on the radio or seen a posting on Facebook and some had seen a notice on the website of KNR[278]. I was

[278] KNR is the national broadcasting station of Greenland. I had briefed them by email about my visits to Qasigiannguit and Sisimiut. An interview had been scheduled but cancelled and I was therefore positively

overwhelmed to see how much attention the films attracted and the director and I soon realized that we would have to arrange an additional film screening for a general public so that everybody in the town would have an opportunity to see it.

We watched 40 minutes of the footage from the Disko bay area and Sisimiut[279]. And judging from the outbursts, laughing, giggling and whispering, the audience had a good time and recognized many things. After the filmscreenings Hans, a tall man with horn-rimmed glasses accounted about Qasigiannguit:

> There was a Faroese trade officer in Godhavn[280] who had great visions about halibut production because there would be a future for that in North Greenland. And therefore I strove to start up a production of halibut. And when it was carried out some compared it to the income of a great kayak hunter, how much he could earn in one year. In the factory you could earn 110 kroner in a year. Then the fisheries were considered as a good profession and it was a good move, going from hunting to fishing […] People tried to bring a factory to this town and I am happy that it was accepted. Because I know that there are many places in Greenland where they have wanted to build factories and have been rejected because the hunter's life was not to be disturbed at that time. So therefore I am really happy that they allowed a factory to be built in this town. During the 1950s it was in this very place, in Qasigiannguit, that shrimps were produced […]. The first time we came here we were surprised to see the immense progress. In 1962 a store was opened here, it was the first self-service store in the whole of Greenland. And it was huge.[281]

It was clear that Hans was very proud of having been a part of that development which had brought such rising levels of wealth, not least to Qasigiannguit. The emotion of pride was also

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surprised to hear that they had announced my stay in Qasigiannguit and Sisimiut. I took it as a sign of a general interest in the works of Jette Bang.

[279] I had edited a selection of film from the industrial fisheries, recorded by Jette Bang and a fishing inspector, Paul Hansen.

[280] Godhavn = Qeqertarsuaq.

[281] FF1. Film screening in Qasigiannguit Club for Senior Citizens.

expressed very clearly by a former mayor in town, Jenseeraq, when he spoke about his and another Greenlandic politician's endeavours:

> I cannot help but mention that Frederik Jensen was a significant person in the establishment of the shrimp factory, due to his efforts in the Provincial Council […] This turned Qasigiannguit into such a well-known town of production which has contributed to the economy of the whole of Greenland […] Speaking of fishing equipment, I have participated in several journeys to England and America to develop equipment for trawlers. And in that sense I can say that the factory has been a driving force. […] I feel that in the recent history of Greenland, that is from the 1950s forward, I have been one of the central figures when it comes to the shrimp fisheries in this town. And I want to say that as far as the shrimp production goes, there are four women in this audience who may account much more clearly for the production. I have now said what has to be said, concerning the fisheries. Thank you.[282]

A former interpreter and foreman, Otto, noticed with satisfaction that I had included footage recorded by the fishing director and biologist, Paul Marinus Hansen. He was honoured to have been his interpreter when Hansen was in this area, since 'we may thank him for the factory'[283]. The museum director reaffirmed this and directed attention towards the fact that one of the most central streets in town Paul Hansen Aqqutaa, bore his name[284] in grateful recognition of his discovery of the enormous colonies of shrimps in the Disko Bay that are still today providing the revenue base for the majority of the population in this area. Everyone who spoke was really happy and proud of the city that Qasigiannguit once was and of the *projective* agency (Emirbayer and Mische 1998:971) that they had each enacted here. In particular they accentuated those who had invested in the big trawlers or those who had acted in politics, in the Provincial or the Municipal Councils or in the union.

[282] FF1. Filmforevisning i Qasigiannguit Ældreklub 7.4.14.
[283] FF1. Filmforevisning i Qasigiannguit Ældreklub 7.4.14.
[284] English: Paul Hansen's Road.

8.h. Limits of agency?

Though my informants had taken many initiatives, there was always somebody who could make decisions at a higher level, like the Faroese trade officer in Godhavn, or others in the service of the Ministry of Greenland. This superior agency was a matter of political power, just as it was about knowledge, technologies and methods. Mastering these, they could develop new insights into how the natural resources could be better exploited in a new industrial economy. Such was the case, in particular, concerning the shrimps. After one film screening an elderly man narrated:

> I was born in 1936 and my grandmother is born here in Qasigiannguit. According to her stories, there was sometimes a strong western wind. The beach of the plain used to turn completely red due to all the shrimps that washed ashore. And we did not know then what it was, but after the production started we now ascertained that these were shrimps.[285]

Only in retrospect did these men and women understand that here was something that could be turned into a resource. It had so far not counted as human food and some told that normally they just let the dogs go down and eat 'the red things' that washed up on the beach. They felt gratitude towards those who taught them to exploit this resource and they felt a clear ownership towards the shrimps. However, it was not everybody who shared that opinion and it later came to cause conflicts in which they felt unfairly treated. After a film screening it took a while before Jenseeraq got up and told:

> I am not going to sit down and speak because it is better to speak while standing up. I was born in 1942 so I turned 72 this year. […] I must say that I have witnessed the way in which great Greenlandic riches have been taken out of the country. I myself, I worked as a shop steward for the Greenlandic workers in the factory, and I was from the outset proud of that […] Now, I want to mention, as Hans has also brought forward, that we should take good care of our riches, in the form of raw material, but I myself have witnessed how huge quantities of frozen halibut have been shipped out of Greenland […] It is a fact that in the '50s and '60s Greenland distributed its enormous wealth to the whole world, and I think that this

[285] FF1. JJ ved filmforevisning i Qasigiannguit Ældreklub 7.4.14.

> fact should be made public, for instance through your research. Hereby we can emphasize what enormous richess has been exported to Europe. That is definitely something worth mentioning.[286]

Everybody applauded. I understood that my informants had felt an ownership to the resources but had been overruled by an alternative, and more powerful, agency who saw it from another perspective in which the resources of the ocean belonged to those who possessed the knowledge and technology to exploit them. The strong feeling of unfairness that this generated was repeated in the memories of the closing of the shrimp factory in 1999, but they had had to resign themselves with that. Watching the film re-activated some of these emotions in Samuel:

> My children would also have continued working in the fishing industry if only the prices for shrimps had not declined so much. Shrimp fishing had an immense importance for Qasigiannguit, and from here it developed into a large-sized and busy fishery on the banks. But when it comes to the fixing of quotas it has become stricter and stricter, and it now very rigid concerning which cutters may go out, where they may go and how much they may take. Today, people say, there are as many as up to 5,000 unemployed people only in the shrimp-cutter-fisheries. That wouldn't have happened if only we had kept the small cutters like those we had in this town here. Even then they were up to five men on board. And the factory employed a whole lot of workers. If only that had continued, we wouldn't have heard about all that unemployment. We experienced the happiest days in the town then. And down at the harbour you could hear the machines, you had the noise from plastic boxes being moved, those were happy days. [287]

After the shrimp factory closed almost only elderly people stayed in the town. In the year 2000 Royal Greenland opened a new halibut factory, now employing 150 persons. Today Qasigiannguit also has a boarding school, a heliport, a hotel, one grocer's shop, a nursing home

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[286] FF1. Film screening in Qasigiannguit Senior Citizen's Club. The ethical issue in asking questions and perhaps hereby installing expectations is closely linked to the questions of complicity that I have raised in chapter 4 and which I will discuss further in chapter 9.
[287] FG2, Focus group conversation after Film screening for men at Qasigiannguit Museum.

and other institutions but the number of workplaces are considerably smaller than before and many felt very uncertain about the future of the town.

8.i. A single poor little shrimp

In the elder generations in Qasigiannguit, those women whom I spoke with rarely expressed agencies pointing outside the domestic sphere or independent of their men. While the men accounted about buying trawlers and managing work processes, the women filled in the roles of backing up the men - it is worth noting that these *iterative* agencies would often be strong. It made, however, a large difference in the ways men and women would talk and I therefore decided to make gender specific focus group screenings and conversations when having public screenings at Qasigiannguit museum.

During the filmscreening in the museum, the four invited women commented vividly as they were clearly moved by watching a flock of women bending over a table on which a huge bucket of steaming shrimps where poured out. 'Ha, I ate so many shrimps that they had to move me to another working station', one laughed, and another noted that 'they almost fought in order to get a job in the factory. One remembered: 'They used the net to catch the trouts then. They salted them in the barrels and it tasted so good with rye bread', and another that 'the factory has an *ulu* for you but others bring their own. Somebody gave me a bone and then I had them make me an *ulu*, so that I could bring my own to the factory'.[288] Everybody laughed aloud when the images showed a heart of a shark, which kept beating long after having been cut out. They continually giggled, commented all at once, and now and then turned to me and explained how they would have done this or that or if they recognized a person in the images. During our lunch afterwards the museum director said: 'Anne Mette, now you are soon on your way to Sisimiut…The tables in the shrimp production were moved from Sisimiut to here. Apart from the tables, Sisimiut have also contributed with customs from their production. They came with their songs that they made for entertainment. Won't you sing for Anne Mette?' And the four women replied that they used to sing a lot during the production. They would tease one another, and they would play 'request programme' and sing the songs. 'That was back when we had no radio. We called on somebody who knew how to play the accordion. There was always somebody who started dancing during

[288] Women's knife, cf. Chapter 6.

the production'. Then they started singing one of the songs they had often teased their male foremen with, the replaceable 'Viilia' and 'Anke' denominating their names or nicknames:

> It is a single, poor little shrimp
> And it is not boiled in vain.
> You get a lot out of it
> It is not boiled in vain.
>
> It is a single, poor little Viilia.
> And he is not boiled in vain.
> You get a lot out of him
> He is not boiled in vain.
>
> It is a single, poor little Anke.
> And he is not boiled in vain.
> You get a lot out of him
> He is not boiled in vain.

As the museum now focused on the shrimp fishing by hosting my film screenings, it offered the inhabitants an opportunity for a functional memory to flourish. It built a bridge from the past into the present and brought the former fishermen and factory workers together emotionally (A.Assmann 2011). In Aleida Assmann's conception of functional memory, the temporal axes continue and the bridge stretches into the future but for my informants in Qaigiannguit, their insecurity about the future hindered such *projective* agency to unfold. Contrary to the case of the politically powerful Qullissat there is no collective memory about the closing of the fish factory in Qasigiannguit. There are no songs, films, or books, but only personal melancholic experiences of loss that the citizens have in common with citizens from a range of other towns and cities along the Greenlandic coast who have also seen time change their living conditions (cf. Chapter 6). In contrast to the general lack of shared memories, the museum director reported that she experienced an extraordinary spirit of solidarity during those about four days. I cannot exclude that the memories people experienced during and after the film screenings are also normally articulated among people living in the town, but the enthusiasm was noticeable. Some of them managed to go and watch the films more than once and they talked a lot about what they saw with me and among each other. Embodying these memories involves a kind of agency but even

though the emotions were strong they were not linked with strong intentions, or what we would in Emirbayer and Mische's (1998) model call *projective agency*.

8.j. Conclusion

The industrial fisheries have for around a century been the most important sector in Greenland just as there are numerous stories about Greenlanders proudly playing a role in the developments of the local fishing industries. In both cases there are potentials for functional memories to support group identifications (A.Assmann 2011) that would include the main part of the population[289]. Still, collective mediated memories (Dijck 2007) about these events are as good as non-existent. It may be because normal everyday life often is seen as trivial and because industrial fishing practices in Greenland only to a certain extent diverge visually from industrial fishing in other places. Another reason may be that dissatisfactions with the regulations, including the quota systems, imposed on the fishermen by the Selfrule government have resulted in conflicts which would not fit well into the dominant discourse aiming at increasing independence for Greenland.

Contrary to this the nodal point (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002:25) of the hunter figure is today, perhaps, more popular than ever as cultural heritage and as a national symbol. It came as a surprise to me that this longstanding association of pride with the hunter figure had consequences for the self-consciousness of the former hunters among my informants and for their positive personal memories of agency in life, even when they later turned to mainly industrial fishing. The pride associated with practical experiences of being a hunter had to these two men been a positive memory to carry with them and a supportive background for both *practical-evaluative* and - at least for Nukannguaq – also *projective* agencies. On a personal level it has been rewarding. On the societal level, the hunter figure is a nodal point in the discourse of distinguishing a particular Greenlandic identity, based on 'authentic' and 'traditional' orientations towards a more distant past than the industrial era.

If one perceives memory both as agency and as entangled with emotions, as I have done (cf. Chapter 3 and onward) it may be tempting to conclude that strong emotions engage strong

[289] Photographic works by Jette Bang (1941; 1962) and Ivars Silis (see for instance 1982; 2000; 2011) are very notable exceptions.

versions of agency. They often do, in so far as people might feel strong impulses to act towards certain ends. As Ortner importantly warned however, we should not confuse intentions with outcomes, as there is - between the two - a process of negotiations in the individual's habitus, complexly influenced by social contexts including, most notably, the existing power relations. Impulses to transform one's intentions into agency then largely depend on the degree of resistance one may face. The example of Qasigiannguit is a case in point, as the former fishermen, despite strong emotions and strong intentionalities, had to face the fact that their agencies had no effect and their factory got closed. Through the last half century experiences are plenty in which power structures, drawn first by the colonial administration, and then later by the Self Government, overrule the agencies of local people in the fisheries who may therefore resign themselves to a confined space of *practical-evaluative* agency and seek alternative strategies.

If the third, *iterative*, mode of agency may appear 'soft', in the sense of a low level of intentionality (Ortner 2006:134), it is important to remember that it is still a kind of agency. No person has no agency, and we may perceive memory practices – such a substantial part of our brain activity – in themselves as executions of agency. Personal memory practices are in themselves valuable to people, also in the many cases where strong intentions of change are not an issue and where the memory practices are limited to momentary pleasures of the evocations (MacDougall 1992:34) of past events and emotions.

Chapter 9. Conclusion

Industrialization and agency in collective memories

Modernization transformed many peoples' living conditions in Greenland from the mid 20th century on, and emotions of sorrow, pain and shame dominate the discourses about these decades. There are more nuances to this story, however, and these prevailing discourses have come to overshadow alternative discourses that could be based on memories of industrialization, as a process that unfolded locally and involved the agency of many Greenlanders. As I listened to the personal memories of former workers in the mining and fishing industries, they often spoke with pride about acting strategically, being able to evaluate their careers and pursue what they perceived to be a good course in life. I saw photographically mediated memories in frames on the walls and heard stories about how they purchased some of the first shrimp trawlers to operate in Greenlandic waters or how they had brought home enormous catches of beluga or halibut. Or I saw yellowed prints of men in green parka coats in the snow, on strike for achieving equal pay, and heard stories about a growing sense of awareness and pride in their identity as workers and a sense of international solidarity.

Such memories of Greenlandic agency are rarely represented in films, songs or literature or in any other form of collective memory. They are hardly reflected at all in the cultural heritage, and they have been absent in the exhibitions at the National Museum in Nuuk (NKA). That is, until the deputy director at NKA installed Jette Bang's films on early industrialization in the exhibitions as an outcome of this PhD project; an act that may be perceived as presaging the process of revisiting the history of industrialization and modernization that is currently taking shape, as discussed in more detail below. National orientations in heritage, fashion, logos, arts etc. highlight Inuit distinctiveness and the hunter figure of an unspecified past is iconized and celebrated in countless different forms. If the years of modernization have occasionally cast the hunter in a patronizing light, today there is considerable pride associated with the figure and with the continually widespread, yet transformed, practices of hunting. Most people in the cities mainly go hunting for recreation, whereas many fishermen supplement their income from the fishing industry with the occasional beluga whale or a reindeer. The *kayak*s, carefully adapted to the Arctic conditions, are long gone, however, and the dogsleds have largely been replaced with snow scooters, except where they are used for the entirely different purpose of servicing the tourists.

Those among the fishermen informants who had memories of making a living from full-time hunting held those memories very dear. I was surprised to see the strong emotion of pride still associated with these memories, and how it had sustained them throughout their entire careers, even when they chose to turn to industrial fishing. A person's self-perception is shaped on the basis of cultural categories (A.Assmann 2011:121; Halbwachs 1992:40; Connerton 1989:37), and these are, in turn, highly influenced by strong collective memories such as that of the figure of the hunter (Dijck 2007:12). This deeply layered self-esteem had enriched their lives in the form of a cultural capital that they had managed to transform and use as a motor for economic and social success. One of my informants, Nukannguaq, turned it into political agency, engaging in municipal politics and in the fishermen's organization in Ilulissat.

Personal and collective memories of mining

The case of the closing of the early industrial city of Qullissat offered further insights into how personal and collective memories mutually reshape each other through dynamic negotiations (Dijck 2007:12) that are widely influenced by emotional practices. The mine and the city closed in 1972, despite political protests, and the remaining 1000 inhabitants had to move. Qullissat subsequently became a prominent issue in a political discourse about Danish oppression, and a quest for independence, if not outright revolution, resulted. It became an important element in the political processes leading to Home Rule in 1979. Many Qullisarmiut lived through difficult decades, experiencing discrimination and finding it hard to integrate in their new hometowns, and the result was a very high frequency of social and psychological problems, including suicide and substance abuse. The personal memories of my Qullissarmiut informants varied widely between such experiences and others, in which Qullissat remained a childhood or youth memory associated with joy and contentment rather than any other, darker emotions. Since the 1980s, a growing number of Qullisarmiut and their descendants have returned to spend their summer holidays in the abandoned houses.

A discourse of Qullisarmiut as victims has remained strong because it has represented the experience of Qullissat as a perfect motivation for political resistance to Danish influences. It has done so by promoting a functional memory that forcefully repressed diverging experiences (A.Assmann 2011:119ff), including the aforementioned joy and contentment, the discrimination displayed by people in the towns that received the Qullisarmiut and the fact that both Danish and Greenlandic politicians were involved in the decision to close the city. Last but not least, the

discourse has ignored a liberating movement among former Qullisarmiut, including the association 'Ilulissani Qullissat Ikinngutai'[290], who have gone through therapeutic processes individually and collectively and realized that they now want to shed the role as victims. Through such active 'postmemorial work' (Hirsch 2008:111), including actively employing an emotive urge (Scheer 2012:213) to 'look forward with joy' they attempt to change the discourse. Such emotional memory practices serve a liberating purpose, because they lift a heavy burden from the shoulders of people who have long been perceived as victims and thus leave room for agentive self-perceptions.

We can change our futures by changing our pasts. Or rather, we may wisely select among our memories which to make the first elements in a realistic narrative that continues into our present life and then further into our hopes and aspirations for the future. Of course such segregation and forgetting of elements from the total storage memory available (A.Assmann 2011) is not a process in which 'anything goes', and only if we understand memory as a kind of emotional practice (Scheer 2012) can we properly grasp the sluggish and irrational character of the processes through which functional memories take shape. The interwoven character of emotional and memory practices leaves a space for personal as well as collective memories to dwell unattended for years and may, as in the case with the memories of many Qullissarmiut, become functionalized at a later moment in history, perhaps taking a new form if the emotional practices surrounding them have changed. Even memories with 'soft' kinds of agency (Ortner 2006:134) may in this sense transfer into stronger forms over time, if there is an emotional potential for them to become functional.

While screening films for former fishermen and factory workers in Qasigiannguit, another town that once flourished but whose shrimp factory closed in 1999, I found that on days when we watched and spoke about that past, there was a reactivation of not only an emotional memory but also a strong desire for agency. People wanted their histories of proudly contributing to the development of the industrial fisheries in the Disko Bay area to be told. They had experienced their projective agencies – of developing the fisheries further – being overruled, and now they saw their town in a difficult state of uncertainty and decline. They had had to resign themselves to a practical-evaluative form of agency, either going fishing in other areas or retiring. Agency is

[290] Eng.: 'Friends of Qullissat in Ilulissat', Danish: 'Qullissats Venner i Ilulissat'.

always entangled in relations of power, and the case reminds us that there is not necessarily a correspondence between strong forms of agency and the intended outcomes (Ortner 2006:137).

Moving an archive

Returning the films of Jette Bang from the National Museum of Denmark to all Greenlandic cultural history museums was one – among several – continuations of a comprehensive return process that had unfolded from 1982 to 2001. In this hand-over, some 35,000 archaeological and ethnographical objects and large archives were transferred to NKA in a process that also included building capacities within the fields of curating, research, communication, conservation etc. In this continual museum contact zone (Clifford 1997:193) produced by postcolonial relations, knowledge is exchanged and developed, and every time we engage in *moving an archive* we shift the balance of authority and power. Stoler defines the archive as an object to which memories relate (Stoler 2009:94), and if we add that archives embrace not only origin but also authority (Derrida 1995:10), then the act of handing over an archival film to its source community is not only a matter of sharing knowledge but also an act of transferring authority. I experienced huge interest in the films of Jette Bang no matter where I went, or, I should say, 'the films by Jette Bang and Hannibal Fencker', as my informants did, because Bang's Greenlandic assistant was a prominent person whose vivid accounts of the journey on the Greenlandic west coast in 1938–9 have been broadcast on the national radio so many times that almost everybody knew about the films already.

My travelogue of the films (cf. Chapter 6) demonstrated that every time they entered into a new context their meanings were recontextualized accordingly (Banks and Vokes 2010:346). I had expected responses to the colonial dissonances that I thought their original context had imbued them with, but my audiences seemed to ignore them, and I received very few such reactions. Informants who saw familiar places, procedures and ancestors or other known people from the past in these archival films for the first time were more occupied with these images, and almost everyone was very moved by the indexical linkages to what they knew about but had never seen with their own eyes. Based on the many screenings that were conducted, I conclude that for the local museums, the most important value of these historical films was their great capacity for eliciting local knowledge. The viewers, however, expressed profound gratitude related to the communicative capacity that is unique to the medium of film, which offers them a chance to travel in time, with a first-hand experience of a *there-then* that here suddenly became, albeit momentarily, a *here-now* (Barthes 1990[1977]:44), as they mentally dwelled in the filmic reality.

Multi-sitedness, complicity and validity

Using a range of different methodologies I have collected a large variety of different types of data. Through film and photo elicitations and by inviting my informants to take part in 'conversations', asking for 'narratives' and 'life stories' and chatting informally about their photographs in albums, on the smartphones and, in particular, on their walls, I have been able to elicit replies to the 'softer' aspects of memory practices that would have escaped the ways of articulation that characterize an ordinary interview format. Exploiting the reception of the films for the elicitation of anthropological data was yet another active methodological invention that allowed me to generate memory data. Furthermore, I initiated processes of collaboration with Greenlandic colleagues, whose observations I perceive as central data in my analysis, and due to these methods, the participatory aspect of participant observation has played a relatively dominant role. Other aspects of my data collection consisted in analyses of exhibitions and films and in acquiring a sufficient historical understanding by consulting archives, books and a range of informants. It also involved participant observation when I lectured at Ilisimatusarfik in Nuuk, chatted with my interpreters, consulted Facebook, listened to the radio, went to exhibitions or film screenings or talked with Greenlanders and experts in my networks in Greenland and in Denmark. It is almost impossible to define the limits of the multi-sited fieldwork that has become such a widespread anthropological practice (Candea 2009:26), even before it was defined as such by George Marcus in 1995 (Marcus 1995). The validity of my analysis of the multiple kinds of data that it generated rather rests on the capacity of my analysis to answer my research question: *how do people in Greenland, specifically the Disko Bay area, currently remember industrialization?*

This question has served as my guideline throughout the project, posed and answered in multiple ways, and my fascination with this question is really the glue that keeps all these fragments together. It also defines my complicity in an entanglement of simultaneous processes that now appears to draw attention to industrialization as a part of Greenland's national heritage (cf. Chapter 4). Consonant impulses appear simultaneously in these years, and my research activities and this dissertation may prove to be a part of a more general process towards a stronger focus on Greenland's industrial history and the agency of Greenlanders in supporting, encouraging and engineering industrial developments.

The process towards increasing independence calls for rewritings of the history of the huge, Arctic island, seen from Greenlandic perspectives. A rich and very important source here is people's memories. Our memory practices may be said to produce our projective agency and hence our capacity to shape our future. Imagination and anticipation rests on what it is possible to think in the present, and that is, in turn, a product of memory practices. The very act of remembering may therefore support agencies for change, even in processes stretching over several decades, as demonstrated by my analysis of the Qullissat case. Destructive, perhaps traumatic, memories make it difficult to envision a bright future, but active memory works may offer liberating or even therapeutic opportunities, as some of my Qullisarmiut informants have experienced; indeed, this is a most desired outcome of the current activities of the Greenlandic Reconciliation Commission. With their considerable stores of relevant objects and archives, their potential for collecting more and their relations with their surrounding communities, NKA and the local museums are natural agents in such processes, if they choose to prioritize recent history as an important element in Greenland's cultural heritage and include urbanization, modernization, Danification, Greenlandification … and industrialization as key focus areas in their communication. Adult Greenlanders have experienced profound changes in the course of their lifetimes, and their personal memories, not least from the industrial fisheries, constitute a highly productive potential addition to the existing collective memories.

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Appendix 1

List of film screenings, focus group conversations and interviews

FILM SCREENINGS *)

Qasigiannguit:
FF1 Senior Citizen's Club, 7.4.2014.
FF2 Public screening in the Family Care Centre, 9.4.2014

Sisimiut:
FF3 College, 11.4.2014
FF4 Nursing home, 12.4.2014
FF5 Public screening at the Museum, 14.4.2014

Nuuk:
FF6 Public screening at Ilisimatusarfik (University of Greenland), 11.2.2015

Ilulissat:
FF7 Public screening in the cinema, 2.5.2015
FF8 Nursing home, 4.5.2015
FF9 The Senior Citizen's Club, 27.4.2015

Qeqertarsuaq:
FF10 Public screening at the Museum, 8.5.2015
FF11 Public screening at the Museum, 9.5.2015

FOCUSGROUPS

FOCUSGROUPS IN QASIGIANNGUIT

FG 1. Focus group Women, 8.4.2014
FG 2. Focus group Men, 8.4.2014

FOCUSGROUP IN SISIMIUT

FG 3. Focus group, College, 11.4.2014

INTERVIEWS *)

The following is a list of the formal individual interviews I have conducted. With many of these informants did I have supplementary informal conversations. All names have been changed, and I have named some by their profession in order to anonymize people's identity, albeit only possible at at a certain level (cf. Chapter 4).

INTERVIEWS IN SISIMIUT

1. Mie
2. Brian
3. Lennart
4. Museum Director

INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED IN ILULISSAT

12. + 26. Karl
13. Lukas
14. Egon
16. Ella
17a + 17b. Nukannguaq
18. Manasse
19. Karen
20. William
21. Sophie
22.+ 23. Sofus and Josefine
24. John
25. Aviâja
28. Cecilie
29. Qasigiannguit Museum Director
30. Bo
31. Jens Lyberth (tlf. igen)
32. Anders
33. Andreas
34, Mayor Ole Dorph
35. Chief consultant in Qaasuitsup Kommunia Thomas
36. Steffan
37. Jensine
38. Isabella & Karoline
39. Sara, Jørgen og Tove

INTERVIEWS IN QEQERTARSUAQ

15. Inuk
26. Jens
27. Mona

INTERVIEWS IN NUUK

5. Consultant at the Iliniorsorfik
6. Deputy Director, NKA
7. Lector at the Teacher's College
8. Archivist, Groenlandica
9. Jens Lyberth SIK (by his own name)
10. Laila
11. Niels Peter

*) I also screened excerpts of Jette Bang's film material during interviews and private conversations with most of the people on this list, hereby engaging in film elicitations with individual informants.

Appendix 2

Greenlandic quotations, transcriptions

Chapter 5

When the winter gets cold we use a tuiliit, which is a special anorak. It is waterproof. It is used when sailing in the kayak in the winter, never in the spring, and it is such one that our forefathers used, the great hunters. [291]

Nukannguaq: 'Tassa ukioq (incomprehensible) atortarpangut tuiliit ammit, erisaat. Ilummutoitarsinnaanngittut. Qajartorluni ukiukkut atortangaa upernaakkut atorsinnaanngittoq. Tassa siulitta taanna tuilik piniartorsuit atortangaat'.

This is the only thing among all the kayak equipment that I have kept. I gave so much away. I kept it because it has brought us so much happiness, everytime he arrived with the seal and the avataq made it float[292]

Doris: Taanna kisiat iluatingisimavar ilai tunniussuuttarakkit, qaannat pisatai. Taanna iluatingisimavara kisiat. Nuannaartitsisarsimammanngooruna taanna pinginginga, kalilluni tikittarami ilaa taanna puttaqutingalungu.

Chapter 6

We went on strike then. It was unbelievable. The conditions were not acceptable. They are not so smart, the Danes. Do you understand?[293]

Egon: Umma tupinnaq taamani suliumajunnaaratta, taamaattussaanngimmat. Iluanngitsut, ila iluanngitsut qallunaat. Paasivinga?

I worked on the quay then. We were so underpaid, it was really unbelievable […] It was okay in Marmorilik. We just had to survive. I don't know how to say it. It was okay, but we were underpaid[294]

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[291] Interview nr 17a. R 05_0022, 00:38:40.
[292] Interview nr 17a. R 05_0022, 00:40:39.
[293] Interview nr. 14 R 05_0029, 00:03:15.
[294] Interview nr. 14 R 05_0029, 00:07:16.

Egon: Tassa siullermik umiarsualivimmi suligama. Akikinnermut, taamanikkut akikiitsut iluasaartut, sunaaffa alliusut kalaallit.[…]Tassa ajunngilaq, inuuvugut, soorunalimi inususassagatta, qanoq oqassuunga? Ajunngikkaluaq, ajunngilaq, kisianni akikitsut.

It was unbelievable with all the beer back then, that it was so expensive.

Egon: Imigassaataat kisimik akisunerupput. Baajarsuit uuma taamanikkut assaa! Tupinnaq!

Because I did not feel that my work before that generated enough money. So I started working in Marmorilik but it was underpaid as well.[295].

Egon: Tasamani halimi sulisuuvunga siullermik aamma akiktsuararnikuummat taamanikkut, suna tamarmi akikitsoq. Tassa akikippallaaqigatta, sunaaffa aamma akeqanngitsut.

That's how it was back then. There were many big codfish when we were kids. We just threw the heads and the liver out. We threw it out. That was back when the dogs were not tied. They could just eat it all. […]*It's lovely to see the Greenlandic dresses again. My mother used to sew such clothes and wear it. My late father used to come in the kayak and drag the seal after him*.[296]

Egon: Tassa siullermik taamaappoq. Saarullerujussuarnik siullermik saarulleqarami. Meeraanitta nalaani. Niaqorsui eqqaannarlugit tigussui eqqaannarlugit. Uuma taamaanikkut ilaa sissami aalikisakkerivimmi niaqorsui eqqaannakkat. Tigussui …Taamani qimmit pituttaanngikkallarnerata nalaani. Qimmit qanorluunniit nerisarput.[…] Kalaalisoortut alianaatsut. tassa anaanaga siullermik kalaallisut atisaqarami. Ataatagigaluara kalittorsuaq tasamani qaannamik pisatarineruvorlu.

It is lovely to see it again. They are working with an ulo. They remove the fish-scale with an 'ulo', don't they?[297].

Egon: Alianaatsut! Ulumik ……. tattaajaasut. Tattaat-uku, ila?

Chapter 7

Sofus, chairman: *I compare us with those from Qaanaaq. They just walked across the land and then they had a new settlement for themselves and their families. Us from Qullissat, we were spread all over the coast. We were divided. That's how they did to us. And those people from Qaanaaq they receive a reimbursement every year […] They have a fund that continously receives 400.000 kr. We don't work in order to receive the money, rather we work on healing the wounds that we have got. […] Money are not the most important thing to us. We feel that what is inside is what really counts. Many have left their families. Many have committed suicide. From*

[295] Interview nr. 14 R 05_0029, 00:09:37.
[296] Interview nr. 14 R 05_0029, 00:45:36.
[297] Interview nr. 14 R 05_0029, 00:50:13.

our town. We really want to help those few remaining, not just money-wise. If an apology is possible it would also mean a lot. It would give us som peace inside. That's what we want to achieve and spend the rest of our lives at.

AM: *Who do you want to give you an apology?*

Sofus: *The Danish government*. [298]

Sofus: Uanga sanilliuttarakku soorlu qaanaarmiut. Qaanaarmiut ituinnarlutik illoqarfittaarput ilaqutariit tamarmik ataatsimut nuullutik. Taavaalu uagut qullissarmiut sineriammut sumulluunniit tamatta akugaalluta iliorfigineqarnikuuvugut. Taavalu ulloq manna tikillugu taakku qaanaarmiut eqqarsaatigalugit ukiumut aningaasaateqarfat pingaarnerusutut […] immerneqartarpoq.

Fondeqarput 400.000-tut […] pissarsiujuartuullutik, Uagut sulianngginnatta aningaasat pillugit, kisianni qamuuna annertuumik ikiligaasimaneq katannissaa sulissutigalugu […]

Aningaasat pingaarnerunngilaq uagutsinnut kisianni pingaarnerutittarput qamuuna tarneq aseruuttoq. Ilarpassuaqarpugut ilaqutariinnit toqukkut qimangarlutillu imminortorpassuaqarpoq aamma uagut nunaqatitsinni. Sinninngui arlaaatigut ikiorusullugit uanga taanna perusupparput, aningaasat perusunngilarput. Kisianni aamma utoqqatserfigineqarsinnaaneq pineqarsinnaappat aamma eqqissilluta toqqissilluta aamma piuneqarsinnaavoq. Tamakku uanga angorusuppara nuannersumik inuunerup sinnera atussallugu.

AM: *Who do you want to give you an apology?*

Sofus: Nalagaaffik.

Sofus: *Of course we also went hunting here but many lost it. You had so much for free up there.. as I said before, up to three or four whales a day. But after the removal there were many things that we suddenly had to pay for. The hunting fields changed and we felt uncomfortable with many things.*

We also brought our dogs here but we did not know where to find fodder and before the end of the year we had to have them killed. Even though we moved to a town where there were already so many dogs. Nobody told us anything and there were many things that we did not know… where to find fodder. That's how it was.

AMJ: *Was it hard to find work?*

Sofus: *No! But there was a lot of discrimination and not much help to get. It was not simple, but if you had the will you could manage […] But being looked down upon was hard. Also just on an ordinary day, when you went to the store. Then people would shout after you.*

AMJ: *What would they yell*?

Sofus: *There were many things, and the words hurt in many ways*.[299]

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[298] Interview no.22, R05_00:30, 00:39:00.
[299] Interview no.22, R05_0030, 00:57:27.

Sofus: Tassami soorunami piniartarpugut kisianni amerlanerit tamanna annaanikuuaat […]. Taakanili akeqanngitsorsuarmik qanorsuaq pisoqarsinnaavog, soorlu oqartunga tikaagulliit ilaanni ullormut pingasut akeqanngitsumik piorartutut pisarpaat. Kisianni nutsitaanerup kingorna akeqalernikuupput. Piniarfiit aamma allanngornikuugamik, soorlu tamakku ippigiattuutit annertuumik aallaqqaammut pinikuuaat.

Uagut aamma qimmit maanga aggiunnikuugaluarpagut, kisianni nerisassaqartinneri suulluunniit naluagut. Taamaalluni aamma ukioq naanngitsoq tamaasa annaanikuuagut toqorartiinnarlugit. Soorlu ilaa taamannak. Qimmeqarfissuarmut pigaluarluni. Ilisimatinneqanngilagut qanoq iliussalluta, qanoq qimmit nerisassaannik iliornissarput nalugatsigu. Soorlu taamaattorpassuupput.

AMJ: *Was it hard to find work?*

Sofus: Naa! … IIaa, immikkut pineqarnerput sakkortunermik. Imaannaannginnami eqingasuteqarani ajornaquteqanngilaq suliffissua… Suliffissaq ajornanngitsorsuuvoq eqiigalluni pigaanni. Kisianni soorlu sakkortunermik immikkut isigineqarneq...

AMJ: *What would they yell*?

Sofus: Ulluinnakkulluunniit inuugaluarluni, soorlu pisiniarfimmukaraluarluniluunniit nammineq pissuussuteqarani oqaaseqarani pigaanni kisianni akerartugaalluni.

Assigiingitsutigut oqaatsit anniaatigineqartarput

We were like on an island outside Greenland. The connections to the rest of Greenland were very weak. When you wanted to call your family you had to go through the radio in Nuuk. It is not long ago – '77 – right? Today it is so easy, no matter where you are, to get in contact with others on the coast. That is also why it has been hard, and some couldn't work there because they missed their families.[300]

Karl: Avammut atassuteqaativut massakkutut innginnamik Maarmoralimmi sulileratta. Soorlu Kalaallit Nunaanniinnataluunniit, soorlu qeqertarujussuarmi allamillutaluunniit. Attaveqaativut ajornartuummata. Ilaquttatsinnut attaveqassagutta imaluunniit sumut arlaannut attaveqassagutta radiukæde atorlugu Nuukkoorlugu aatsaat. Ajunaralaaannguaq 77, ilaa? Massakkut internettikkutt sukulluunniit qaqugukkulluunniit attaveqqarsinnaapput. Soorunami ilaatigut … artorsartarput ilaatigut suliffigisinnaanngilaat inuit ilaasa.

I was not much in touch with the other workers. There were some from France and Germany… there were many Europeans. It turned out that they were only out for earning money here in Greenland. What would they do if we just came to Europe and took their jobs? What would they say to us then?[301]

Egon: Tamakkua suleqatikka naapinneq ajorakkit. Ilaat sineriammit tamarmit - franskit, tyskit. Arlalissuugamik europamiut. Sunaaffa iluanaarneqarniartut aningaasanik katersuisut Kalaalit Nunaanni. Taamaattussaanatillu. Qanorli ila uagut Europamut suliartoraluarutta qanormita oqassagaluarpat?

[300] Interview no. 12, R05_0026, 00:10:40.
[301] Interview no. 14, R05_0029, 00:12:07.

Our employers were rather strict and expected a lot from us. We were told to behave and never cross the guidelines […] During the strike the other [non-Greenlandic] miners were hindered from working. We blocked the aerial ropeway when they were about to get up and work. They respected that. It was very exciting. We could not win our case alone but our colleagues from Finland, Sweden, Norway, Canada and Denmark supported us. We collaborated with them even though we did not speak the same language and most only spoke in their won. But that was not a problem.[302]

Karl: Taava aamma sulisitsisungut imaannaannginnamimmi sakkortungamik piumasaqarnerat, taava paasitilluarneqarpungut ilaasortaaffitsinniik eqqissisimasumik pissuseqassasungut, peqqussutinik uniuinaveersaassasungut[…]Taava taakku tamaasa unitsillungit suliumajunnaarsimavungut. Nuannersumik pissanganartumillu, suleqatingiissinnaaneq tassani uanga takusimavara annertulaartumik. Taava uangut namminiivilluta taanna angunngittoorparput, kisianni sunniuteqaqataalluta takutitsillutalu qanoriliorsinnaanitsinnik, suleqatitsinnik tapersersorneqartorsuungatta finlandimiut siullermik, taava svenskit, norskit, canadamiut qallunaallu. Tassa taakku suleqatingaangut oqaaseqatinginngivillungit uangut ataasiinnarmik oqaaseqarluta. Ajornartorsiutinginngilangut

Karl: *I went all in for the strike. We were so young, you know. I was 23 years old then. I just thought that when we got this opportunity, then it became much clearer, to me at least, what I can do for the society.*

AMJ: *So not just for the workers up there, but for the entire society?*

Karl: *Because you can't help thinking that… today in Greenland we talk so much about extractive resources and we want to start this and that and big companies from the outside. If they start on something like this again how will the Greenlanders be treated then?*[303]

Karl: Ernumanngilanga, ernumanngivippunga. Immaqa amma inuusuttorujussuugatta taamani uanga 23-nik ukioqarpunga. Taava … soorlu tunineqarpugut, … taamatut periarfissaq atuleratsigu. Soorlu inuiaqatiinni sulissutissarsuaq aamma takuttoq.

AMJ: *So not just for the workers up there, but for the entire society?*

Karl: Tassami Maarmorilimmuinnaangitsoq immaqa tunnganerugaluarpoq taama oqassagaanni. Ukua namminersortumi avataaniit suliffiutilinnik takkuttuinnaa[…] Soorlu massakkut eqqarsaatigalugu aatsitassaruorfiiit takkutissappata avataaniit suliffissuit angisuut soorlu eqqartorneqartartoq. Aamma kalaallit sulissagunik taakkuninnga taamatut pineqarnissaat […]

[302] Interview no. 12, R05_0026, 00:12:06.
[303] Interview no. 26, 00:34:35.

Chapter 8

I am really grateful that I have found a wife who knows how to process a seal, the skin and everything. Sometimes I came home with a great many seals on my sledge. It made me happy that when I arrived and then travelled the next morning… and then next time I came home she would have processed all the skins. We didn't have running water, you see, so she had to fetch the water and flense the seals and everything AND take care of the children at the same time. I always left before the kids awakened and when I came home they were already asleep. Because I wanted to leave while the ice was there. Sometimes it can break without notice... So I am really happy that my wife and I collaborated so well. [304]

Nukannguaq: Qujassutigisinnaavarami nuliartarigakku ammerisinnaasumik sunaaffa. Puiserpassuit ilaanni tikiuttarakkit qassusersuleraangama qassutikassaakka ulikkaarlugit tikiussisarama nuannaarutigisarpara tikeqqikkaangama ammit tamarmik piariikkat. Namminerlu imertartarluni ila siparninik, meeqqallu paariniarlugit. Meqqat sinittut aallaruma sinittut sinissuunga. Tassa una siku katattarmat atorlugu aalissaaq angorusullugu. Taanna nuannerpoq - angusarissaarneq suleqatigiilluni nulianilu.

Once a Danish researcher engaged me to catch as many seals as possible in a day. When I reached 25 seals I didn't bother anymore, all these different seals… He wanted to see what was possible and he had to examine their jaws. There were ring seals, and young harp seals… [305]

Nukannguaq: Piumaffingineqarpunga alleqqut pisitinniarlutingit, piumaffinginikuuaanga imaattoq qallunaap angalasup. Taava piumasaralungu døgnimut qanoq pisaqarsinnaasunga, ullormut. 25-varaarlungalu taamaatiinnarakkit puiserpassuit ukua assingiinngittut pisarisinnaanerai ullormut qaannap ataatsip. Taassumap misissoramingit, misissortaramignit uuma alleqqut. Natsersuit, allattuut natsit tassa..

At the time when Vajgat still froze over, you would need strong dogs who could cope with the winter. That is the most important thing for a hunter, to take good care of the dogs, because you need them in the winter in order to earn money. When the ocean iced up we set up nets in the ice and caught the seals. I took the boys with me to teach them how to do it all. They had their own dogs from the time when they were just small kids and I don't lie when I say that they are good hunters even today. [306]

Nukannguaq: Vajgat sikugaangat - nuak ajorpoq - ukioraangat sikugaangat qimmeqarniarsarpugut ukiumit akiuisinnaasunik piniartuuteraanni. Tassa aamma taanna anginerpaaq sissuigassaq qimmit paarilluarnissaat. Taava ukiukkullu aningaasarsiornermi annertuumik atortaratsigit. Taava sikugaangat qassusersortarpugut puisinut taavalu nukappiaraatikka […] ilagisarsimavakka imannak imaattuugunik ilinniartarlugit. Allinissaannut ila… Tassa soorlu aamma piniarnermut pisaqariallaqqittorujuupput. Taamannak oqaruma sallussanngilanga, piniallaqittorujuupput.

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[304] Interview nr 17b. R 05_0022, 01:18:58.
[305] Interview nr 17b. R 05_0022, 00:42:42.
[306] Interview nr 17b. R 05_0034, 00:50:45.

We are very delighted that our children are so independent. That they are not a nuisance to anybody, that they are succesfull and independent from us. It makes us very happy… because many young people are neglected in their upbringing. They have no self-control and I feel sorry for them[307]

Nukannguaq: Tassa nuannaarutingaangut meeqqangut akornutaanatik nammineq imminut ikioramik ilaa, tassa taanna (utydelig) taakkuli taamannak meeqqangut ataatakkumik ikiorneqaratik tamarmik imminnut sullipput. Taakkutsitai nuannerpoq assut. Taavalu inuppassuaqarami suminginnangaasunik aamma, nallinnaraluaqaat nammineq aqunnertik ah tassami ilaa, imminut aqueraangamik nuanninngittumik kinguneqartarpoq.

…happy people and with sad people, with addicts… We are all so diverse. Those who had social problems were always so friendly and grateful towards me and it made me strong in my efforts. That's why we achieved good results, even though it has taken time. [308]

Nukannguaq: Inuusugut assigiinngitsorsuugatta. Nuannaartullu aliasuttullu atornerluisullu. Tassa nuannaarutigisarpakka […]-mi sulilerama naapitakka tamarmik. Assorsuaq tamakku nukitutissimavaannga. Angusarissaarsimallutalu arriikkaluartumik.

Before 2009 the small shrimp fishermen were allowed to be here. Today we are the only ones left in Ilulissat with a small shrimp trawler as the Self-rule government wants to dominate it all.[309]

Nukannguaq: Naa, kalaallit ikanneruppput aalisartut. Raajarniutit ikilisorujussuupput. Anneruniarnermut taakku naalakkersuisut.

I spent all that I had saved and we were still banned from sailing. We haven't been on the sea for more than four years! And therefore we have not had any income. In April they informed us that we were allowed to sail again, but I am not going anywhere until they compensate me for what I have lost due to the ban. It was not on our own accord that we stopped fishing for almost five years! [310]

Nukannguaq: Katersat marloqiusanngoramik nalunngilagut ilai imaalisartut. Ukiut tallimangajaat uani uninnganerput assorujussuaq maqaasinarsimavoq usiarneq aallaqqusaanani. Uani apriilimi aatsaat nalunaarpoq angallat raajarniarsinnaalersoq ukiut tallimangajaat uninngatissinnarlugu. Kisianni uanga naaggaaarpunga piviusutigisannik uninnganerit taartiiffigineqassappata aatsaat taanna tusarukku allassallunga.

[307] Interview nr 17a. R 05_0034, 00:35:09.
[308] Interview nr 17b. R 05_0022, 01:06:20.
[309] Interview nr 17b. R 05_0022, 00:33:59.
[310] Interview nr 17b. R 05_0022, 00:08:18.